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A STUDY OF THE PHENOMENON OF TEACHER SELECTIVE RESPONSE TO EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR ROLE

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE
STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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External Examiner

Date February 8, 1985.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to certain qualities which the researcher believes are important for humans to adhere to. There are seven qualities. The first is Truth. This quality is an occupation with understanding, rather than a preoccupation with attacking. The second involves an acceptance that nature is guided by Principle, not chaos. Third, Mind is a governing intelligence shared by all things, not personally owned or coveted. Fourth and fifth, Life and Love are inextricably interdependent. Love, patient and unqualified, makes Life worth living. Life, when lived fully, provides the opportunity for Love to occur. Finally, it seems that a sense of corporeal reality can do little to explain awareness, especially awareness of the importance of the other qualities mentioned. Such awareness belongs in a metaphysical reality involving the sixth and seventh qualities of Soul and Spirit.

Together the above seven qualities promote balance to one's life. To honour them, the researcher feels, is to honour the many individuals he has known over the years who used these qualities to guide them.

ABSTRACT

Schoolteachers must be sensitive to a number of role expectations from various quarters. These expectations do not always agree and sometimes actually conflict. For that reason teachers must determine to what degree they will adhere to those various expectations. A review of related literature suggests that experienced teachers may develop a rather sophisticated mechanism that allows them to weigh the worth of role expectations to their own satisfaction as well as to the perceived satisfaction of other role interactors.

In order to investigate this phenomenon it was decided to study four experienced teachers. Each teacher was interviewed five separate times over a period of seven months. It was decided that, because this was an explorative study, establishing set questions in advance of each interview might prove to be presumptuous and make it difficult for the subjects' real perspectives to emerge. Therefore, the study began with the understanding that the subjects and the researcher should view each other as equal partners, requiring both to prepare for each interview by writing, reading, and commenting on a variety of catalysts related to the phenomenon being investigated. Thus, when interview sessions took place the research partners presented their ideas for discussion.

As a result of the collaborative effort described above, it was found that all subjects had experienced a number of role conflicts, and some particularly intense ones early in their careers. The subjects indicated that present conflicts continue to appear, some many times over. However, they feel these role conflicts are now less intense compared with years before. This diminishment appears due to regular management efforts on the part of the subjects. The subjects seem to consider the most important conflicts to be directly related to their students and to aspects of their personal lives and their teacher role impinging on each other. Another important conflict, as far as the subjects are concerned, involves times when key adult interactors seem to interfere with the work the subjects do with their students.

The repertoire of conflict management strategies which the subjects have learned over the years appear to have increased in number and sophistication. But while the subjects seem to have more strategies available to them, they also seem to have become more selective about the strategies they choose to use. Analysis of the data suggests that the subjects measure the worth of a chosen strategy at each stage of a conflict management cycle which occurs each time they encounter a conflict. The worth of the action taken is weighed in terms of how the strategy has gained or maintained support in the work the subjects have undertaken to do with their students. Such selectivity leads the subjects to prefer a compromise strategy rather than the extreme strategies of compliance or opposition. The result of such a tendency, it would seem, is that over time the subjects have not lost their sensitivity to various expectations of their role as some research literature suggests. Rather, it appears that the subjects have retained their sensitivity to these expectations at the same time as managing to find a satisfactory balance between their own expectations and what they perceive others expecting of their role.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The primary role responsibility of teachers is to attend to the needs and interests of their students. What teachers consider to be best for these students represents the teachers' own expectations of their role.

In a sense students also hold expectations of the teacher role. Students' hopes and aspirations for their future, in part, are entrusted to their teachers. Thus the expectation by students is that teachers will lead them into participating in activities which will someday prove to have been a worthwhile investment of their time and efforts. But meeting this student expectation of their role is not a simple matter for teachers. One reason for this is because students do not tend to be preoccupied with what is best for them in the future. Rather, their concerns and interests are generally more immediate. Thus students can be unwilling participants, presenting teachers with the problem of raising student interest. Another reason that meeting student expectations is not a simple matter for teachers is because even when students are willing participants they may be unable to cope with the activities presented by teachers at a particular point in time. These two problems are endemic to pedagogy. Students have always ranged in their willingness and ability to participate in what teachers offer for them to do. Teachers, in turn, have always needed to find ways of meeting student needs and interests despite these two recurring problems. In such a way teachers continuously attempt to meet student expectations of their role.

Yet teachers and students are not the only groups concerned about the needs and interests of students. There are others who have a stake in the educational welfare of these same children. Parents, principals, superintendents, board members and others are all concerned about student growth and development. But, because they do not generally interact with students in the classroom, they are dependent on teachers to act on their behalf. Thus, these other stakeholders hold teachers accountable for the work teachers do with students. This accountability appears in various forms and comes from various quarters outside of the classroom. It can be a powerful force in the life of public school teachers. Such a force calls for the attention of teachers and represents further expectations of the teacher role.

Therefore, teachers find it necessary to address the expectations of a variety of stakeholders. Their role is one which does not involve students and themselves alone. Rather, it involves a greater number of interactors than that. It requires teachers to be sensitive not only to the needs of their students but to a wide array of expectations of other stakeholders. A review of research literature (discussed later in detail) suggests that as teachers are faced with various expectations of their role it becomes apparent that many of these expectations cannot be met.

The reason for this inability is that not all expectations are agreeable to what teachers wish to do. Further, sometimes expectations are expressed by different stakeholders which contradict each other. Therefore, even if teachers wished to comply with these expectations they could not (Benton, 1970; Cunningham, 1979; Feitlar & Tokar, 1981; Kratzmann et al, 1980; Mazer & Griffin, 1980; Moracco, 1981; Partin & Garquilo, 1980; Schwab & Iwanicki, 1982). In any event teachers do have to deal with these expectations when they emerge. However, some research literature suggests that many teachers, younger ones in particular, experience an undue amount of role-related stress because of an inability to cope with various expectations of them (Alschuler, 1980; Felder, 1979). However, there is also evidence to show that as teachers become more experienced, their expertise in managing this variety of expectations increases. As well, this literature seems to suggest that these teachers experience a diminishment of sensitivity to others as they gain expertise in the area of role expectation management (Alschuler, 1980; Benton, 1970; Cunningham, 1979).

But such a price for learning to manage role-related expectations is not necessarily the fate of teachers. Further studies approaching the topics of expectation management from an adult development point of view seem to indicate that, as teachers mature and gain experience, they learn to balance various expectations of their role to their own satisfaction as well as to what they perceive to be the satisfaction of other stakeholders (Gehrke, 1979; Miller & Taylor, 1983; Miller et al, 1982; Pajak & Blase, 1982; Sheehy, 1976, 1981; Roberts, 1977). The result of the teachers' management, then, does not seem to indicate any sense of diminishment of sensitivity on the part of those teachers. Rather, it suggests that teachers learn to respond in a selective fashion to various expectations of their role. The possibility that they may be able to meet those expectations, perceiving them to be mutually satisfactory to each stakeholder also, indicates that experienced teachers develop a sophisticated mechanism of role expectation management.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to further investigate the mechanism whereby teachers manage the various expectations of their role to their own satisfaction as well as to the perceived satisfaction of other stakeholders. This major purpose leads to three sub-purposes. They are:

1. to further describe the structure and function of this mechanism;
2. to trace the development of this mechanism;
3. to discuss the effect that the development of this mechanism has on teachers and their role.

Scope of the Study

Some evidence of role expectation management can be seen overtly. However, overt behavior is not within the scope of this study. Rather, this study focuses on the covert or thought process which instigates behavior. Thought is where teachers make their own sense of role expectations. Thought is also where teachers decide on the possible ways to manage these expectations.

There is little attention given to the actual expectations of other stakeholders herein. The intent of this study is to gain insight into teachers' perspectives. Therefore, focus will be placed on their beliefs, values, motives, and particularly their expectations regarding the phenomenon of role expectation management. As well, no attempt has been made to judge or evaluate these perspectives. They reflect thought emanating from unique experiences available to only those who serve in a teaching capacity. Therefore, these perspectives have been investigated in such a light.

It is not intended through this study to measure the ability of teachers to personally fulfill themselves either in or out of teaching. Determining the success of reaching a particular level of fulfillment, while perhaps being a worthy topic for investigation, is not a consideration herein. However, an important guiding assumption is that all human beings are in constant hope of attaining fulfillment in various areas. The teaching role itself gives teachers the opportunity to contribute to this fulfillment. Therefore, rather than measuring the extent of reaching goals of fulfillment this study is designed to bring light to how teachers attempt to progress towards such a goal.

Figure 1, Realms of Expectations of Teacher Role, is offered to further define the scope of this study. It shows a teacher figure gazing outwardly towards four realms of expectations. The first, A, is the preferred role as defined by teachers. The second, B, is the meeting of teachers' preferred role and the expectations of others as perceived by teachers. The third, C, is the teachers' perceptions of expectations of others. Finally, the fourth realm, D, is the actual expectations of others. In order to explain the interplay of these realms it will be best to discuss the opposite realms (A & D) first, followed by a discussion of the middle realms (C & B) where teachers' concerns about expectations of their role converge.

A, the preferred role as defined by teachers, is the most narrowly conceived view. Here teachers attempt to define their role as they prefer it to be. Given their own choice of role definition, there is not yet any question in their minds about impinging expectations of others, although others may have been considered in this role construction.

The broadest realm, D, the actual expectations of others, is the only one of the four realms to be external to the teachers'

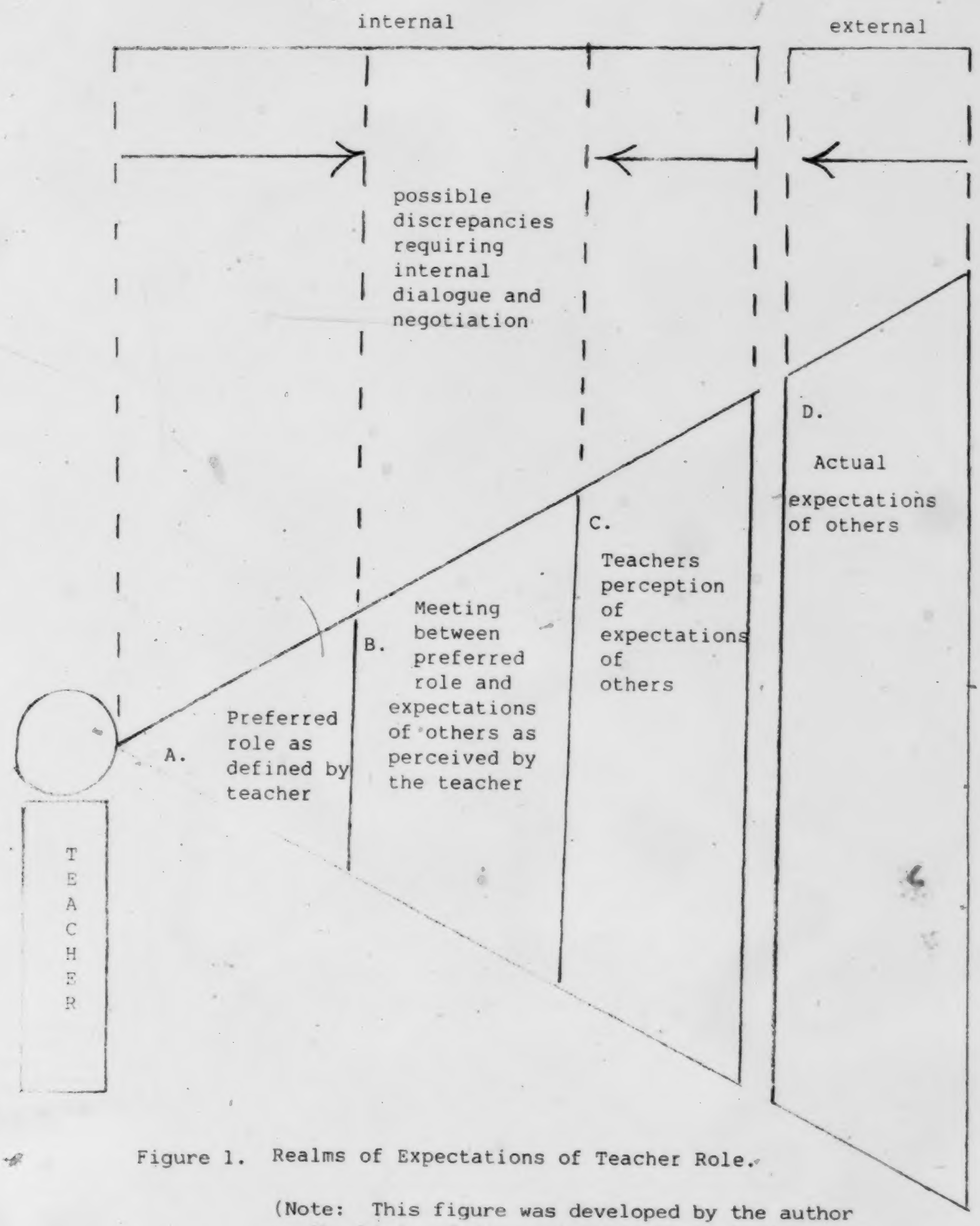
internal
external
possible discrepancies requiring internal dialogue and negotiation
A.
Preferred role as defined by teacher
B.
Meeting between preferred role and expectations of others as perceived by the teacher
C.
Teachers perception of expectations of others
D.
Actual expectations of others
TEACHER

Figure 1. Realms of Expectations of Teacher Role.

(Note: This figure was developed by the author on the basis of discussions with Dr. David Young, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, 1981-82.)

subjective experience. In this realm are the expectations of other important stakeholders such as students, parents, other teachers, administrators, consultants, interest groups, and so on. Some of these expectations may be clearly formulated while others are not well defined at all.

Realm C, the teachers' perceptions of expectations of others, falls once again within the teachers' internal experience. It is meant to represent the teachers' view of D, the actual expectations of others. Because D is too broad for any one individual to clearly conceive, this realm is smaller than D. However, despite the fact that this realm is often based on incomplete views of a larger whole, these perceptions are the basis of the teachers' knowledge about the expectations of others.

The last realm in this interactive model is B, the meeting between preferred role expectations and expectations of others as perceived by teachers. In this realm hope for convergence between these perceived expectations is entirely possible. However, it is also in this realm where discrepancies between the two meet, thus forcing teachers to consider expectations of others which impinge on their own. Further, it is in this realm where teachers often sense, through certain internal contradictions the impositions of some of their own expectations. Therefore, it is here, in this realm, where the scope of this study ultimately focuses.

Importance of the Study

A difficulty exists in many studies that have been made to date regarding expectations of teacher role. That difficulty is because much of the information made available by such studies is problem specific, expressed in the language of the researcher instead of the language of the teachers. Thus, issues determined to be highly relevant are also determined to be so by the researcher rather than teachers.

Because of this restricted focus, the complexity of the teaching act can be obscured. Given such vagueness, others who would support teachers tend to hold somewhat unrealistic expectations of those teachers, with the end result being that they are seen as interferers by teachers (Fullan & Park, 1981; Kratzmann et al, 1980; Wolcott, 1977). Therefore, this study attempts to probe more deeply into the perspectives of teachers regarding role expectations than has been done previously. By doing so, it is hoped the findings, contained herein, will contribute to an understanding of how teachers come to make decisions regarding the extent of their commitment to aspects of their work. There are several implications in exposing new information about this topic. Each of these contributes to the notion of teacher support. The importance of such a notion, of course, is that those who would support the work that teachers do with students have no other option but to try to better understand the teaching role from the teachers' perspective if they are to have any success in supporting teachers.

It is hoped that this study contributes to a more realistic view of teacher accountability than is presently popular. As teachers exhibit the ability to be selectively responsive to various expectations of their role, they also exhibit a unique position of power, one which is not highly recognized or understood in the field. Therefore, non-teachers, in particular, may well adhere to a relatively outmoded view of teacher accountability which could detract from their ability to communicate with teachers and to express realistic expectations of the teacher role. Such a view may well be seen by teachers as disrespectful, further endangering the notion of support. For such a reason this study offers information which may aid in the reconceptualization of a clearer more acceptable model of teacher accountability than presently exists.

It is hoped that this study contributes towards teacher self-understanding. The importance of this, as Cunningham (1979) points out, is that teachers are too busy and their daily schedules are too fragmented for them to pause and reflect much about their beliefs, values, motives, and expectations. These aspects of perspective often remain tacit and unexamined by teachers. Without reflection, she claims, teachers struggle from day to day coping with various expectations but rarely attaining any fulfillment through the job while this pace is maintained. The collaborative research method, used herein, will give teachers a chance to periodically slow this pace. In such a way the research subjects have been served directly. But it is anticipated that such a form of analysis could also prove to be a useful model for all teachers. Therefore, it will be proposed that such a model be devised as a matter of professional self-development, as well. The effects of personalizing professional development this way will contribute to the general welfare of teachers, Connelly suggests (1981), which in turn will have a positive effect on the students they serve (Cunningham, 1979).

Finally, perhaps the greatest impact of this study can be in letting teachers know they are not alone in their feelings related to role conflict. For instance, if they can accept frustration as part of the job and not as the result of their own personal inadequacies a good deal of stress might be removed. Thus, with teachers taking on this view, their performance could improve and greater communication among them and those who would support them might result.

Research Method

In order to investigate how teachers have come to manage meeting various expectations of their role and the effects this process has had on them, it is necessary to choose subjects who have been teaching for a number of years. Choosing such subjects assures that role-related experiences have been made possible. This type of study, then, is based on retrospection by the subjects.

Much of the subjects' role-related experiences, it is assumed, is tacit and unexamined. However, it is also assumed that the memories of such experiences presently exist in forms that have an important current influence on the views of the subjects. Bronowski (1977) claims that it is possible to understand how such memories influence people by trying to closely share verbal recollections of their experiences. The most important of these recollections, he suggests, are conflict oriented.

> [Man] learns from experience: from the experiences of others as well as his own, and from their inner experiences as well as their outer. But he can learn from their inner experience only by entering it, and that is not done merely by reading a written record of it. We must have the gift to identify ourselves with other men, to relive their experience and to feel its conflicts as our own. And the conflicts are the essence of the experience. (p.70)

As the essence of experience, memories of conflict stand out among the many other experiences of the past which have faded or are entirely forgotten. Conflict raises attention. It initiates reformulation and, therefore, it is the major contributor to the shaping process that brings people and their perspectives to the present. Further experiences that are remembered to be conflict oriented, in an extreme or critical sense, are also more reclaimable than those memories that are not conflict oriented (Bronowski, 1977; Progoff, 1975; Sheehy, 1976, 1981). Thus, it has been decided to focus on memories of situations where expectations were conflicting.

In order for critical conflicts to emerge from the past it was necessary to hold a series of in-depth interviews with the subjects. In this way the subjects were able to more clearly articulate their memories of these experiences. This proved to be a lengthy procedure, involving five one-hour interviews over a period of seven months. Thus the number of the subjects had to be kept small. In the final analysis it was decided to use four subjects. During these interviews great efforts were made to be assured that the subjects' own views were not dominated by those of the researcher. The result of such domination would have meant a superimposition of the researcher's views over the subjects' views, thus making the findings of the study irrelevant.

In order to deal with this potential problem it was important that the subjects and the researcher viewed the study, and the interviews in particular, as a collaboration. As in a true dialogue between two people, the investigation relied greatly on the participants being willing and able to disclose their views about managing of role expectations to each other. This was dependent on the researcher and subjects being able to come together seriously committed to the study and mutually respectful of the vulnerable position that each conversant had placed himself in when disclosing himself to the other. Finally, while this method of investigation was determined by the researcher to be the most suitable for the topics at hand, certain limitations related to sampling, disclosure, and data selection were inherited along with it. These limitations will be discussed in a later chapter.

Organization of the Study

This document has been organized into three major sections. Section 1 provides theoretical and practical background. It is made up of three chapters. The first of these, Chapter II, presents a review of research literature regarding role expectations and how teachers manage such expectations. Chapter III is an extension of the literature review. It offers theoretical notions regarding how the subjects' experiences involving conflicts are left behind as memories, thus giving shape to their present views regarding role expectations. This chapter also offers an explanation about some of the difficulties the researcher met in attempting to interpret the retrospective accounts and current views of the subjects. This is followed by a theoretical position as to how these difficulties might be overcome. Chapter IV provides a description of the actual methods used to gather, analyze, and present the research data.

Section 2 is composed of four chapters. Each chapter is devoted to a separate teacher-subject. This has been done in a format similar to a case report. The reason for the case format is to preserve the unique and idiosyncratic elements that became so apparent during the data-taking. However, at the same time, the true emic data does not appear in its rough form in these chapters.

This is because of the tremendous extent of interview data taken over the course of the study. Therefore, these chapters represent a selective account of how the subjects have met various conflicting expectations of their role. This selectivity was initiated by the researcher but was, in all instances, presented to the subjects for confirmation or denial.

Each chapter in Section 2 is made up of three parts. The first introduces the subjects, providing details about their background pertinent to the study. The second is a series of vignettes highlighting what the subjects have considered to be critical conflicts related to expectations of their role. Each vignette addresses conditions involving a different interactor. The interactors were selected because the subjects felt them to be particularly important, at one time or another, in terms of conflicting expectations of their teacher role. The overall intent of arranging the second part in vignette form is to demonstrate the change that took place in the way the subjects perceived and dealt with conflicting expectations as well as to retain a sense of context as reported by the subjects.

The third part of each chapter in Section 2 presents summary statements of the subjects' current perspectives regarding role conflict and its management. This part is shown as a chronological outcome of the process described in the vignettes.

Section 3 regroups the data and shows general patterns that exist among all four of the research subjects. This section generally addresses the main purpose and three sub-purposes of the study. The outcome of this discussion is a number of conclusions considered by the researcher to be important, as well as some implications and recommendations offered by the researcher for application in the field of education and for future research. Finally, several appendices are included herein to offer the reader details regarding recruitment of subjects as well as various aspects of the data-taking and data analysis. The details of some of this material are available. For access, contact the researcher directly.

Chapter I has introduced the notion that experienced teachers develop a sophisticated mechanism which they use to manage various expectations of their roles. Thus, the purpose herein is to explore the development and structure of this phenomenon, along with the effect that it ultimately has had on these teachers. The primary importance of this topic, it is claimed, is that the findings of this study can offer greater understanding about the teacher role to those who are interested in supporting teachers. The method chosen to investigate this phenomenon involves five one-hour interviews with four subjects. It is referred to as collaborative research. The interviews attempt to cite conflicts which have been of critical importance to the subjects. In citing these conflicts, the development of this mechanism is shown. Finally, the document has been organized into three sections. The first of these follows.

SECTION 1

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

This section deals with detailed information which provides the thesis with theoretical and practical research background. It is organized into three chapters. The first, Chapter II, reviews related research literature. Chapter III presents a theoretical position upon which to base assumptions and initiate exploration of the topic. Chapter IV outlines the precise nature of the methods used in this study, giving examples of the negotiation process and indicating its effect on the study itself.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

During the early stages of collecting research literature it became necessary for the researcher to familiarize himself with a variety of topics such as: organization, role, motive, and conflict theories as well as teacher stress and adult development. The reason for this broad interest was that the actual purpose of the study had not yet been clearly defined. Such a definition, it was found, could not be made without first investigating these various topics. Therefore, as the investigation into available literature progressed, the purpose began to develop within it.

The findings from this review of related literature have been organized into four areas. The first, Role Definition in Formal Organizations, shows how role itself is not a static concept dependent on the incumbents conforming to pre-existing norms. Rather, it is dependent on an interaction between individuals and the expectations they have of each other. The second, Benefits of Role Participation, offers an explanation as to why individuals would want to participate in a role. Thus the discussion moves into the area of motivation and rewards. The third, Interference with the Realization of Benefits of Teaching, suggests that certain conditions decrease the chances of teachers attaining the benefits they seek in that role. The list of such conditions is varied. However, it is suggested that the cause of the interference can generally be traced to a conflicting of role expectations. The fourth, Teachers Coping with Interferences, suggests that teachers are quite capable of dealing with various conflicting expectations of their roles. This discussion shows a variety of role management strategies that teachers are capable of using. But this aspect of the literature review paints a rather bleak picture for those who wish to teach for a long time and expect to enjoy it. However, a small number of recent studies suggest that this bleak picture is not necessarily the way things are, or the way things have to be. The findings of these studies will be presented last.

Role Definition in Formal Organizations

In modern societies organizations usually pre-exist the individuals who intend to work within them. They symbolize to incumbent members a cultural given upon which they can base their own perceptions of its language, purposes, role expectations, and activities. These personal images, Pettigrew (1979) suggests, are derived from such everyday things as the "organization's vocabulary, the design of the organization's buildings, beliefs about the uses and distribution of power and privilege, and the ritual and myths which legitimate those distributions" (p.575). Such precursors have a distinct influence on the individuals within or about to enter the organization. They provide the environmental parameters as a point of reference upon which individuals can base their behavior.

Role behavior then, is an important consideration in the functioning of the organization. According to Turner (1971) roles are attempts to structure behavior in order to make behavior predictable. Further, the more precise the role description the more predictable the members' behavior will be. In a sense, organizations provide a structure which allows individuals to take others' roles somewhat for granted, thus promoting standardization and stability.

This attempt to stabilize behavior, Turner continues, is necessary if the organization is to continue to exist at all. With this point in mind, it is easy to see how the status quo provides a powerful and necessary function. For example, as incumbents enter the organization they must look to others occupying related roles for sanction and approval. Thus pre-existing norms and expectations, whether incumbents wholeheartedly approve of them or not, provide them with their first models for role definition. This induction period will have a profound effect on the inductee. This is particularly so in educational organizations where the role itself is usually accompanied by some amount of vagueness (Lipka & Goulet, 1979; Lortie, 1975; Pajak & Blase, 1982; Roberts, 1977).

Yet this "conformity model", Turner adds, is incomplete in explaining how organization members determine their roles. It adequately explains the tremendous influence of the status quo on the individual. However, it does not account for individuals' perceptions or the dynamic interaction of individuals as they define and clarify their roles. Turner continues by suggesting that it is not just through blind conformity that organization members determine their roles. Rather, it is a persistent interaction and clarification of these roles between members. Turner calls this a "functional model":

> Emphasis on binding power of mores and folkways or on the blind adherence to custom corresponds with a society populated by people playing roles principally as sets of expectations with which they must comply. On the other hand, a functional view emphasizes the interdependence of activities in accounting for cultural persistence and social stability. (pp. 476-477)

Thus both the individual and what he perceives as group norms and expectations act interdependently with respect to the establishment of teacher role. Members of the community, other teachers, principals and students all hold certain expectations of how teachers will carry out their role. Teachers, in turn, probably accept many of these as part of their role. However, they also add personal interpretations which are unique and unlike the behavior of other teachers. These, Goffman (1959, 1961) suggests, are dependent on individuals' motives, beliefs, and experiences. In this way, he adds, organization members shape their role to some extent and at the same time find they are being shaped by it.

This defining of role, this shaping process, is dependent on the interactions of the above. However, the process is yet left unexplained. According to Owens (1981) teachers learn to balance what they do and what they do not do in role according to the expected benefits they have projected. He suggests that teachers are proactive. They anticipate that things will occur based on their experiences to date. In a sense, they learn to heighten their own abilities to predict behavior of others given the conditions at hand. They also weigh possible alternative behaviors, giving them priorities in terms of their probable consequences. They do these things by matching the effort necessary with the benefit expected. It is these aspired-for benefits which will be discussed next.

Benefits of Role Participation

Powell and Royce (1978) suggest that career choice is really just an extension of a larger pattern of life pursuits. Teaching, in this case, is seen by individuals as a contribution to their daily satisfactions and is thus consistent with their "value perceptions". This is a reflection of a personally derived hierarchy of motives.

The now famous Maslowian hierarchy of needs attempts to explain these general motives of people. However, it does not make direct reference to the work role nor does it explain the reasons people continue being motivated once needs are satisfied (Owens, 1981). This is discussed by Wilgenbusch (1980) who points out that Maslow's model is based on a deficiency stimulus.

Herzberg (cited in Owens, 1981) has developed a hierarchy which seems better qualified to explain the benefits teachers see as being important in their occupation. At the same time his categories closely parallel the original ones suggested by Maslow. Figure 2 shows Owens' (1981) conceptualization of these two models. (Maslow's model appears in an adapted form by Porter in this figure.)

Herzberg's claim, like Maslow-Porter, is that lower level needs (or "maintenance factors") must be adequately satisfied before higher level needs are likely to be attained. These, he suggests, are the real "motivating factors" for which individuals ultimately aspire. Studies by Lortie (1975), Schacksmuth (1979), Sergiovanni and Carver (1980), and Thompson (1979) bear this out, showing that under stable conditions factors related to job security, salary, work conditions, etcetera, are generally unimportant to teachers. Teachers see these as occupational givens that can be taken for granted while they pursue other factors which are more under their personal control. Not surprisingly, these items deal with teachers' daily interaction with students. It is here where (again, under stable circumstances) their preoccupations and allegiances lie. Further, it is here, at the psychic level, that they expect to measure the real fruits of their efforts (Fullan & Park, 1981; Hayes, 1980; Lipka & Goulet, 1979; Lortie, 1975; Ponder & Doyle, 1977).

In reference to Herzberg's hierarchy, studies by Plihal (1981) and Sergiovanni and Carver (1980) show more precisely the nature of these rewards. Teachers consistently reported that their greatest

6

Maslow-Porter	Herzberg	
Self-actualization	Work Itself Achievement	MOTIVATION FACTORS
Autonomy	Possibility of Growth Responsibility	
Esteem	Advancement Recognition Status	
Affiliation	Interpersonal Professional Relations District policy	MANAGEMENT FACTORS
Security	Job Security Technical Competence of Supervisors Work Conditions Salary and Benefits	

Figure 2. Comparison of Maslow-Porter Hierarchy of Needs and Herzberg Hierarchy of Work-Related Needs.

sense of satisfaction was gained from their work with students when they felt in control and competent about the demands of the activity. This sense of personal achievement was closely followed by a hope for recognition received from doing work well. Such a reward is also one of the most elusive, according to teachers interviewed by Thompson (1979) and Janesick (1981).

However, while these individually perceived psychic rewards seem to prevail during times of stability, there is evidence to show that teachers' sentiments involve all motivating as well as maintenance factors under conditions of duress. Just what those conditions are will be discussed next.

Interference with the Realization of Benefits of Teaching

It has been shown that teachers, when determining role definition, do so by conforming to normative expectations of others and blending their own personal interpretations therein. It has also been shown that role participation is a condition of expected benefits. To many teachers, under certain conditions of duress these benefits seem to be in jeopardy.

According to Owens (1981) interference with the attainment of particular benefits can be explained in terms of divergent goals and incompatible views between parties. This form of interference is due to a confrontation of teacher volitional expectations with the threat of imposing expectations from others. However, this interference accounts only for interpersonal conflict. The concept of interference herein needs to be extended to include conflicting expectations from within teachers also. This form of interference is known as intrapersonal conflict and, in a sense, speaks of teacher expectations which are self-imposed.

Research literature has much to offer regarding the interference of the realization of teacher benefits. As will be seen, the causes of this interference stem from combinations of interpersonal and intrapersonal conflict.

1. Vague goals. Schwab and Iwanicki (1982) suggest there is a "lack of clear consistent information regarding rights, duties, and responsibilities in the [teaching] occupation" (p.62). This interferes with role satisfaction. Lortie (1975) calls such a situation the "endemic uncertainty" which comes with the job of teaching.

2. Multiple roles. Teacher role involves a broad range of tasks, including being a model for student behavior, disciplinarian, classroom level curriculum developer, implementor, and evaluator, test maker and marker, caretaker, social worker, entertainer, etcetera. This need to exercise such a complexity of tasks on a daily basis suggests a potential for overload to consciousness of teachers, thus leading to a state of tension (Blackie, 1977; Csikszentmihalyi, 1978; Elbaz, 1980; Locke & Massengale, 1978).

3. In-role perspective. The moment teachers begin participating in role they tend to work at a frenzied state. They often make excessive demands of themselves where their attention is fragmented (Ladas, 1980). Cunningham (1979) supports this view, further suggesting that teachers "lock themselves into modes of perception

and particularly modes of expectation and action which inevitably disappoint and frustrate them" (p.9).

4. Numbers and time management. Teachers need to attend to a large number of young people for extended periods of time. While there is some contention as to the extent to which this affects teachers, there is no doubt that, to many, it can be emotionally and physically draining (Dunham, 1980; Feitlar & Tokar, 1981; Kratzmann et al, 1980).

5. Student behavior. Studies by Bloland and Selby (1980) show that of the conditions which teachers consider to be in their control, the greatest detractor from personal satisfaction is student misbehavior and the disciplinary action they find necessary to take because of this misbehavior.

6. Role isolation. In terms of direct contact with other adults, teaching is a lonely business. This loneliness becomes problematic in the following ways.

a. There are implicit rules of autonomy and territoriality which teachers expect to be kept by each other (Glidewell et al, 1975; Lortie, 1975; Sergiovanni & Carver, 1980). While these rules assure little interference, they also minimize communication between teachers.

b. Beginning teachers, while being introduced to the profession through a powerful induction process, are usually left very much alone to "sink or swim" on their own (Castle, 1980; Hawke, 1980; Lacefield & Mahan, 1980; Lortie, 1975).

c. Both parents and teachers generally exercise a voluntary restraint regarding direct communication with each other (Lieberman & Miller, 1978; Lortie, 1975). The greatest proportion of interaction seems to regard problems and complaints (Sergiovanni & Carver, 1980).

7. Professional problem solving. Schwab and Iwanicki (1982) claim that teachers encounter "constant involvement with people [primarily students and parents] who have problems" (p.61). While they desire interpersonal involvement, many teachers find this a negative form of interaction and thus an interference with the benefits which they had expected.

8. Non-teaching tasks. Teachers often complain about the menial and mundane aspects of their work which they see as related to non-teaching tasks such as data collecting for head office and other forms of clerical work (Bloland & Selby, 1980; Jackson, 1968; Sergiovanni & Carver, 1980).

9. Support-role polarity. Smith (1980) reports that those attempting to fulfill non-teaching jobs automatically take on a new perspective, adding distance between themselves and teachers.

a. Superintendents are held more politically accountable than teachers. Thus their perspective makes them responsive to such pressures. In turn they attempt to exert control in various fashions over the life of the classroom teacher. Smith suggests this distances teachers from superintendents as if they were poles apart. Owens (1981) supports this notion, adding that teachers jealously protect aspects of their autonomy (primarily instructional), and when they feel higher echelon figures are attempting to impose on this autonomy they visualize themselves and these others as being in adversarial roles (Aiken, 1979; Brumbaugh & Skinkus, 1978; Wolcott, 1977).

b. Principals are considered by teachers to have a good understanding of the daily conditions of the classroom. However, they are seen by many teachers as hampering classroom activities with untimely interruptions (Bloland & Selby, 1980; Bruscemi, 1979; Dunham, 1980; Sergiovanni & Carver, 1980).

c. Sergiovanni and Carver (1980) found that teachers often view those in supervisory roles as "insensitive".

d. Bloland and Selby (1980) report that teachers often feel an overall lack of recognition for their efforts by all other stakeholders.

10. Job security. Conditions related to transfer policy and cutbacks in staff are normally out of the hands of teachers. When teachers sense this additional pressure, they report it as raising anxiety and detracting from satisfactions more than any other reason (Apple, 1982; Mazer & Griffin, 1980; Sergiovanni & Carver, 1980; Thompson, 1979). This anxiety is heightened when teachers sense a "lottery method" is being used to select who stays and who goes (Hunt & Hunt, 1978).

11. Reward structure. The nature of the reward structure itself can be problematic.

a. According to Lortie (1975) extrinsic rewards are so flat they can hardly be considered as important incentives. It might be that standardized wages lead to complacency. Bloland and Selby (1980), in reviewing related literature, found that most female teachers and teachers early in their careers considered their wages to be satisfactory, while male teachers of several years experience reported dissatisfaction with their wages because they were able to see their sex-age-education counterparts making considerably more money in other jobs. The authors confirm Lortie's notion that wages can lead to dissatisfaction but make little contribution as incentives.

b. Regarding the pursuit of psychic (or intrinsic) rewards, while it has been shown that they are very important to teachers they are also rare and elusive (Janesick, 1981; Thompson, 1979). This point suggests that teachers' expectation to fulfill psychic rewards through their jobs, alone, is unlikely (Powell & Royce, 1978).

12. Role contradiction. Cunningham (1979) and Wilson (1979) both find that being a teacher can produce contradictions in role priorities. For example, teachers are expected to be sensitive and humanitarian. On the other hand they need to address their self-ambitions as well as be good managers. At times these expectations can seem to be opposing and cause teachers intrapersonal conflict. Other role contradictions include teacher images such as "legalitarian" (Kratzmann et al, 1980), "economist" (Cunningham, 1979), "psychotherapist" (Hult, 1979), and "rationalist" (Darling-Hammond & Wise, 1981).

13. Partial autonomy. According to Lortie (1975) there will always be a disparity between teacher expectations of autonomy and what the conditions will allow. He points out that while teachers yearn for increased independence, increased resources, and control over their professional lives, they accept the hegemony of the system. Here they are "totally and functionally dependent" on the organization. This set of circumstances adds to an ambivalence which he claims is common in teaching.

14. Change in work ethos. According to Fromm (1975) and Lasch (1979), there has been a general attitudinal migration from group affiliation towards priorization of individualism over the last several decades in modern societies. Along with this trend there have been signs of increased materialism and temporality (in the sense of lack of intimate association) as reported by Toffler (1970, 1980) and Hendin (1975). These changes have had an impression on the work ethic in North America (White, cited in "Bandaids and better", 1982).

Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1979) report that teachers have changed as well. They are demanding more of their work conditions than ever before. But Lortie (1975) suggests that collective bargaining, the predominant teacher technique to do this, not only helps teachers form group working conditions but also holds them to a more precise role; one which may not provide the flexibility necessary to keep all teachers happy.

15. Additional public diversity. There is evidence to show that there is a general loss of confidence in the ability of public education to serve the increasingly diverse needs of the society in which it exists (Hodgson et al, 1980; Owens, 1981). This loss of confidence, according to Kratzmann et al (1980), has had a negative effect on teacher morale. They add that relying on such public diversity for guidance regarding curriculum and role-related matters leads to contradiction and conflict. To quote:

> Unfortunately, this [public] sentiment is mixed and is rarely clear, and teachers are forced to sort through an assortment of seemingly contradictory signals. Different segments of society and special interest groups demand different services and educational emphases and adhere to conflicting values. All of this means that the sensitive, responding teacher faces difficult decisions in the daily execution of his or her assignments and responsibilities. (p.15)

Many stakeholders attempt to influence both directly or indirectly what the child does in school, presumably with the hope of contributing to the child's future. While this sentiment is well meant, it potentially focuses a great deal of pressure on teachers. Over the years this pressure has taken the form of mandating the implementation of standardized programs. Such an approach tends to bypass the teacher and any understanding of the complexities of the pedagogical act. Thus ironically, such an approach often falters as many teachers see this as an act of interference rather than support (Ben Peretz, 1975; Boag, 1980; Connelly, 1980; Cunningham, 1979; Fullan & Park, 1981; Roddy, 1979).

In concluding this portion of the discussion, there is much evidence that under certain conditions teachers see a rather broad range of benefits being withheld from their grasp. The cause is a combination of interpersonally and intrapersonally derived conflict of expectations. When duress is prolonged and/or intense, symptoms emerge such as increased frustration and disillusionment, hence exhaustion and irritability. These symptoms, in turn, can lead to teachers losing much of their feeling for those they serve (Bloland & Selby, 1980; Catterton, 1979; Cunningham, 1979; Kratzmann et al, 1980; Partin & Garquilo, 1980; Schwab & Iwanicki, 1982; Scrivens, 1979). However, such conditions are not always the case. Feitlar and Tokar (1981) in their study of British and American teachers found them to be generally satisfied with their work. Even while some teachers are distressed about some aspects of their job, many of their colleagues remain undeterred, suggesting that such stress is finally and ultimately dependent on the individual's perception of it (Moracco, 1981; Owens, 1981; Warnat, 1980). Further, both interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts are not only common but necessary to healthy living for the individual (Elbaz, 1980; Schutz, 1970) as well as the organization (Spradley & McDonough, 1973).

Teachers Coping with Interferences

It has been pointed out that there are a variety of reasons for interference with teachers' attainment of rewards for role participation.

These reasons were identified as being either interpersonal or intrapersonal. The extent of interference, all in all, seems to be dependent on the individuals' perceptions of it. Further, the literature has shown, there are as many ways to attend to interference as there are causes of it. These too seem to depend on the individuals' views. An overview of findings from such research literature follows. The first section will deal with how teachers respond to a variety of expectations and how they appear to be successful in balancing these. The second section deals with how teachers react against forms of imposed change. The third section discusses how teachers look for support in the face of conflicting expectations. Finally, the last section discusses findings regarding how teachers learn to selectively respond to various expectations of their role.

Responding to Normal Expectations of the Job

According to Elbaz (1980), teaching necessitates a balancing of many different "foci of attention". This is a skill at which teachers have to become adept. Following are some examples of how this is done.

1. Control of student behavior. Maggs (1980) suggests that teachers who hold students to specific expectations and endeavour to keep student behavior closely controlled are able to maintain a satisfactory balance between self and other interests.

2. Management of time. According to Warnat (1980), teachers who make full use of their time do not take work home and still have time for themselves during the day.

3. Management of clerical tasks. Alschuler (1980), Maggs (1980) and Walton (1981) have found that teachers who regularly handle tasks such as roll taking, lesson writing, and test and report recording seem to feel less stress than those who for various reasons choose not to maintain these tasks daily.

4. Clarity of purpose. Marx (1981) indicates that teachers who show "clarity of purpose" and "moral decidedness" about their role cope more easily with everyday challenges than those who do not.

5. Clear realistic planning. Clark and Yinger (1979, 1980) have found that routine planning by teachers increases their efficiency and flexibility thus contributing to the management of potential interference.

6. Informality. Gehrke (1979) and Jackson (1968) have found that teachers who are not overly rigid about their expectations are more successful at managing the many unexpected things that happen in their day.

7. Sense of humour. Warnat (1980) suggests that teachers who retain a positive sense of humour, find it easier to accept the various conflicts that occur in their professional lives.

8. Non-related leisure pursuits. Benton (1970) has found that generally teachers choose to participate in leisure activities which call for a minimum of physical and mental exertion. This could be a technique to balance the benefits and role behavior of teaching with totally different behaviors outside of teaching.

Reacting Against Change as Imposing Expectations

When change seems imminent, often in the form of mandated curricula, teachers usually meet such change flexibly, exercising their final right of autonomy by compromising their own program as they see it with the new program (Ben Peretz, 1975; Cohen, 1979; Randall, 1980). However, studies by Krawchenko (1979) and Blust and Willower (1979) have found that when a proposed program is viewed as intolerable by teachers they often simply ignore it or, as Clarke and Washburn (1980) found, they make it appear that the success of the new program is out of their hands. The authors pose that this strategy could be used by teachers for other forms of perceived intolerable impositions.

Looking for Support in the Face of Conflicting Expectations

Hawke (1980) has found that when there appears to be conflict regarding role behavior in the life of beginning teachers they are usually forced to approach those who are exerting the greatest pressure on them (e.g., students, teachers, and principal). This tendency, he explains, is because of the isolated position novices are put in. They have few non-partisan allies and must look to whoever can assist them during their induction period.

Felder (1979) supports Hawke's findings about beginning teachers, adding that other teachers are the most important supporters to beginners experiencing difficulties in their work. Yet, as Newberry (1980) has found, there are few opportunities for new teachers to come together in focused conversation regarding professional matters with their peers. Glidewell et al (1975), in studying the phenomenon of teacher support, found that experienced teachers lacked this type of professional interaction, as well. Further, they found the main way teachers gained support was not through direct assistance, rather it was through "experience swapping" by reporting to each other about specific personal situations which they have encountered.

Lortie (1975) and Andree (1977) both report that teachers are more and more looking to group or collective bargaining to gain conditions which will help them gain or, at least, not interfere with the benefits for which they hope.

Lastly, Janesick (1981) reports that, at times, teachers find they cannot look to their peers for support because those teachers, themselves, are seen as the cause of interference. In this particular study the subject looked to his students for support, complaining openly to them and hoping for sympathy.

Becoming Less Sensitive about Expectations of the Teacher Role

There is evidence to show that, over the years, teachers actually become less sensitive about how they will respond to others as a means of coping with the various diverse expectations of their role. Some of these follow in point form:

1. Decreased self-expectations. Sergiovanni and Carver (1980) found that as teachers become more experienced they also become more disgruntled about the benefits they had expected from their teaching. This reaction, they claim, is prevalent up to the age of forty-five when teachers simply seem to accept that many job benefits are simply

not possible. Therefore, teachers eventually lower what they expect for themselves through their work.

2. Workload. Alschuler (1980) suggests that experienced teachers learn to pace themselves. This pacing is most markedly evidenced by a tendency on the part of teachers to reduce their workload over the years.

3. Decreased expectations of students. Roberts (1977) reports that teachers tend to lower their expectations of students in class as a mechanism of self-preservation. Lowering expectations provides them with a "pleasant surprise" when students do better than expected.

4. Feigning mental states. Teachers often have to pretend in order to show a consistent caring for others. Pretending to care protects the way teachers wish to be seen.

> They make an effort to be cheerful, though worry about something asails them. They pretend to be interested in students' questions, identical to questions they have heard hundreds of times before from other students. They pretend to be absorbed in textbooks which, insipid on first reading, now bore them to distraction. They pretend that the new directive from the principal's office makes eminent sense when in reality they think it's the silliest thing they ever heard of.
> (Benton 1970, p.11)

5. Migration from idealism to realism. Roberts (1977) and Pajak and Blase (1982) agree that over the years there is a slow migration in teacher ethos away from idealism toward a more pragmatic view of their job and what it entails.

6. Situational retirement. Cunningham (1979), in an explorative paper about English teachers, suggests that many

teachers attempt to dichotomize between their personal and professional roles as a survival technique. Because of this dichotomizing, the author argues, the consequences look poor for not only these teachers but their students, as well.

> The lived reality of the English teacher is one of isolation, constant power games with students, low social status in the eyes of the community, anxiety, and constant pressure to experience themselves in a narrow dimension ... and the consequences to students are just as bad. A common and predictable coping mechanism is to take the path of least resistance, what might be termed "situational retirement". (p.7)

Cunningham concludes that not just English teachers, but all teachers, may meet with similar difficulties and may be forced to cope in such a fashion.

Becoming Selectively Responsive to Expectations of the Teacher Role

The previously mentioned techniques present a rather bleak picture regarding how teachers cope with conflicting expectations of their roles. However, there is a small body of research literature that offers some hope to those planning to continue their careers as teachers, suggesting that they will not necessarily become less sensitive to the expectations of their role.

1. Distancing. Pajak and Blase (1982) show that, over the years, teachers learn to protect themselves from the disappointment of rejection from students. While the novice teacher wishes to be a teacher-friend, these roles are not conducive to such an association. Eventually, while this aspiration is still held as being important by experienced teachers, "they no longer mistake illusion for reality ... as they try to reach students, yet can

never come too close" (p.72).

2. Perceptual desensitizing. Teachers learn to pay little heed to those things they cannot influence and/or gain benefit from. A New York State United Teachers' stress survey (1979) shows that experienced teachers, particularly those who are fifty years or older, are most adept at this. Studies by Walton (1981) and Alschuler (1980) show that teachers develop a "systematic densensitization" toward things interfering with their job. Neither of these studies suggests, however, that these teachers had diminished in their ability to teach or to gain satisfaction from their teaching.

3. Compromising self and other expectations. Roberts (1977), in a study of adult development, found that teachers eventually find a happy balance between their own self-satisfaction and their perceptions of the satisfaction of others. While this apparent mellowing reflects compromise, he adds that these teachers "support the system without pandoring to it". Studies by Gehrke (1979), Miller and Taylor (1982), and Sheehy (1976) support Robert's findings.

Thus it appears that those who participate in the teaching role for an extended period of time have had ample opportunity to test their self-expectations against the influence of the expectations which others have of them. These teachers, in particular, have found that they can attend to the interaction of such expectations to their own satisfaction as well as the satisfaction of others. Besides having developed ways in which they wish to respond to these expectations, they have become adept at measuring the amount of the response as well. This ability to respond selectively in such a way reflects teachers' careful weighing of the costs primarily with the benefits to themselves and their students (Dawson, 1981; Fullan & Park, 1981; Ponder & Doyle, 1977). Such a process, according to Elbaz (1980) and McIntyre (1979) is dependent on an interplay between teachers' personal beliefs, values, motives and expectations. Powell and Royce (1978) claim that these concepts form one's "personal philosophy" which represents a dynamic ever-developing structure upon which teachers try to find a consistency or a balance between their choice of careers, the way they perform their role, and the situation at hand.

The review of related literature has provided greater focus on the precise nature of this study. The following six points summarize the basic findings in the literature review. These points build progressively towards a statement that confirms the notion that teachers do develop a sophisticated mechanism of role expectation management. Following are those six points:

1. Teachers interactively define their roles through a meeting of their own expectations and their perceptions of the expectations of other stakeholders.

2. Teachers are attracted to the field of education because they perceive and learn to expect that certain personal benefits are possible from their participation as teachers.

3. It is the normal course of events for conditions to continuously be presented where the realization of these benefits is interfered with. The cause of such interference is due to an interpersonal or intrapersonal conflict of expectations.

4. It is the normal course of events for teachers to meet and deal with these conflicting expectations to their own satisfaction.

5. But when these conflicts are intensified or prolonged teachers can experience undue fatigue and frustration, resulting in their leaving the field or their continuing on, but with a diminishment of feeling toward their students and the expectations of other stakeholders.

6. Yet this diminishment is not necessarily the longterm prognosis for teachers faced with such conflicting expectations. It appears that experienced teachers develop a weighing mechanism whereby they are able to meet, to their satisfaction, their own expectations as well as the expectations which they perceive other stakeholders to have of them.

The literature review has led the investigation one step closer to understanding how teachers deal with expectations of their role by supporting the notion of a weighing mechanism used to balance role expectations. The next step to exploring this topic is to offer a theoretical position regarding how individual perspectives change and develop over time and how another individual might begin to understand this process. Such a theoretical discussion follows.

CHAPTER III

THEORY STANCE

Some evidence was given, in the previous chapter, to show that teachers likely do learn to manage various expectations of their roles to their own satisfaction as well as to the perceived satisfaction of other stakeholders. Exploring the existence and development of such a management skill is the primary purpose of this study; thus the researcher has been encouraged to pursue this topic as a result of such findings. But before making statements about the logistics of investigating such a phenomenon, it is important to make certain theoretical statements upon which the chosen investigative procedure can be based.

There are two closely related areas that call for such a theoretical discussion. The first involves how teachers might construct meanings about their worlds. Such meanings, it will be shown, lead to expectations, conflicts, and a process of perspective development. A model describing this process is also offered. This model is similar to one presented earlier in the research proposal. It was constructed with the assistance of a further review of related literature. The second involves how the researcher and the subjects might interpret the meanings made by the latter. This topic is usually included in a discussion of the research methods. However, it has been included herein because of its close relationship to the concept of changing perspective and because the perspectives of the subjects and the researcher influence each other so powerfully.

A major problem of interpretation involves a gap that distances teachers from their original experiences, the researcher from the teachers' attempts to communicate these experiences, and the reader from the researcher's attempt to write about these experiences. A series of diagrams accompanies this discussion. They are designed to help show how this gap is progressively enlarged as one moves away from the original experience. Finally, this discussion culminates in establishing a set of ten assumptions. These assumptions directly influence the research methods chosen for this study.

Meaning and Perspective Development

In order to understand why teachers behave as they do, it is necessary to inspect a series of psycho-social constructs. As will be shown, these constructs dynamically interact. An attempt is made herein to show this interrelationship to explain how teachers make personal meanings, how these meanings are the basis of their expectations and responses in terms of defining role, and also how these meanings alter and change due to perceptions of conflict. It is important to note that while this exploration aims at concerns about teachers, it could well apply to all individuals. Therefore, individuals are referred to in general.

The construction of human meaning is dependent on experience and thought. However, as Berman and Roderick (1977) point out, thought depends on feeling. Feeling is the catalyst which awakens the pondering and wonderment of thought. Feeling is a manner of replying to a situation and a way of converting it into a projected new work. Thus the individual's attention is raised by feeling and acted on by thought. This process is continuous, as the attainment of ends pursued by thought introduce new feelings and new projected ends.

According to Blumer (1969) this cohesive process, involving thought and feeling, is a matter of the individual objectifying his world. Each object of his attention symbolizes a feedback or echoing of meaning made possible through prior experiences. These symbols can be represented by a physical form or act, concepts such as hopes and expectations, and even language itself. Everything has potential for meaning and meaning is constructed on the basis of the individual's system of symbols. This system is always incomplete because an individual cannot attend to all things nor can he have experienced all that can be experienced. Yet it is what he has at his disposal, at this point in time, which makes the symbol system the basis for his construction of meaning and thus his sense of reality. "Human nature", Martin (1980) says, "lends itself so copiously to the symbolism process that symbol itself tends to become reality and to occupy the central role not just in our dreams but also in our waking hours ..." (p.18).

Interestingly, an individual cannot then eliminate himself from the perception and construction of his own reality. In this sense his reality is subjective and very much his own. As Zinkel (1979) points out, two individuals may be exposed to the same object but perceive symbols differently and thus, perhaps, they perceive very different realities. In this way, he continues, each individual has his "own interpretation of a physical or social reality as experienced, perceived, and interpreted" (p.23).

But while realities are defined through individually perceived symbols, this construction itself cannot occur in isolation. Symbols are shared between people, an attempt to communicate. Thus the symbols are shared interactively, interpersonally, and collectively. It takes others to complete meanings. Schutz (1970) calls this "trading in meanings". Trading in meanings allows individuals to determine their various roles and the behaviors which seem to be required of these roles. Blumer (1969) describes this interaction as an act of alignment.

> People meet varieties of situations that are thrust on them by their conditions of life. These situations are met by working out joint actions in which participants have to align their actions to one another. Each participant does so by interpreting the acts of others and, in turn, by making indications to others as to how they should act. By virtue of this process of interpretation and definition joint actions are built up; they have careers. (p.72)

The meanings which an individual constructs are actually a blend of personal beliefs, values, motives, and expectations, according to Schutz (1970) and Powell and Royce (1978). These meanings are the basis for choosing future actions. Regarding role participation, an individual learns through experience to apply meanings in an attempt to predict the worth of behaving in a certain fashion. Schutz regards role behavior itself as always negotiable, being determined by a constant compromise between the individual's (volitional) expectations and the expectations of significant others (imposing) in reference to that role. An individual who is particularly experienced in participating in a role becomes skilled at balancing these often divergent expectations to his own satisfaction. Thus the balance extends from varied expectations of how the individual should perform in role to how he will perform in role. It is this use of meaning as a pre-existent frame of reference that determines the worth of any activity. Applied accordingly, this frame of reference will henceforth be referred to as "perspective".

Thus perspective represents a complexity of concepts. It is a cohesion of thought and feeling. It is an objectifying of things to become symbols. It is a subjective immersion of the individual's attention. It is the individual's negotiating expectations between himself and others, as well as between what should be and what will be. It is a frame of reference (a blend of beliefs, values, motives, and expectations) by which an individual determines the extent of his involvement in role.

Geertz (1976) points out that while perspective is represented by so much, it is further complicated by its tendency to be continuously changing. He explains that an individual views future projects through his perspective. Upon the completion of an action he evaluates the results through this same perspective. Yet, the perspective has changed as he has added to his experiences. In this sense, perspective is the instrument used for viewing and, as it is a human instrument, it alters its own shape in an ongoing fashion. The action itself Geertz calls a "dialectic tacking" where humans conceptually hop back and forth between indications of subjectivity and objectivity, future and past, self and other perceived views, and so on. This motion, Geertz suggests, has a circular trajectory.

In order to more clearly explicate this circular movement, Figure 3, A Cyclic Model of Conflict Management, is presented. This is based on works by Csikszentmihalyi (1978), Geertz (1976), Owens (1981), Progoff (1975), Schutz (1962, 1970), and Selye (1976). Each stage is discussed in point form.

1. Initial perspective regarding role expectations. Until further notice, the individual's biographically determined perspective (a blend of knowledge, beliefs, and values, motives and expectations) provides him with a frame of reference upon which he can view situations, project his alternative actions, and weigh the worth of his anticipated interactions. Stated differently, perspective is the basis of an array of expectations. That is: What seems to be now and what will likely occur in the future, as well as what should be and what the individual hopes will occur. Such concerns regarding his personal life require periodic inventory.

2. Awareness of conflicting demands. Perceived new situations involving conflicting demands call on the individual's attention. His perspective will largely have determined his sensitivity to these occasions. When a conflict is felt and considered to be highly relevant, attention is held. Selye (1976) suggests that each individual perceives these situations, bringing an initial

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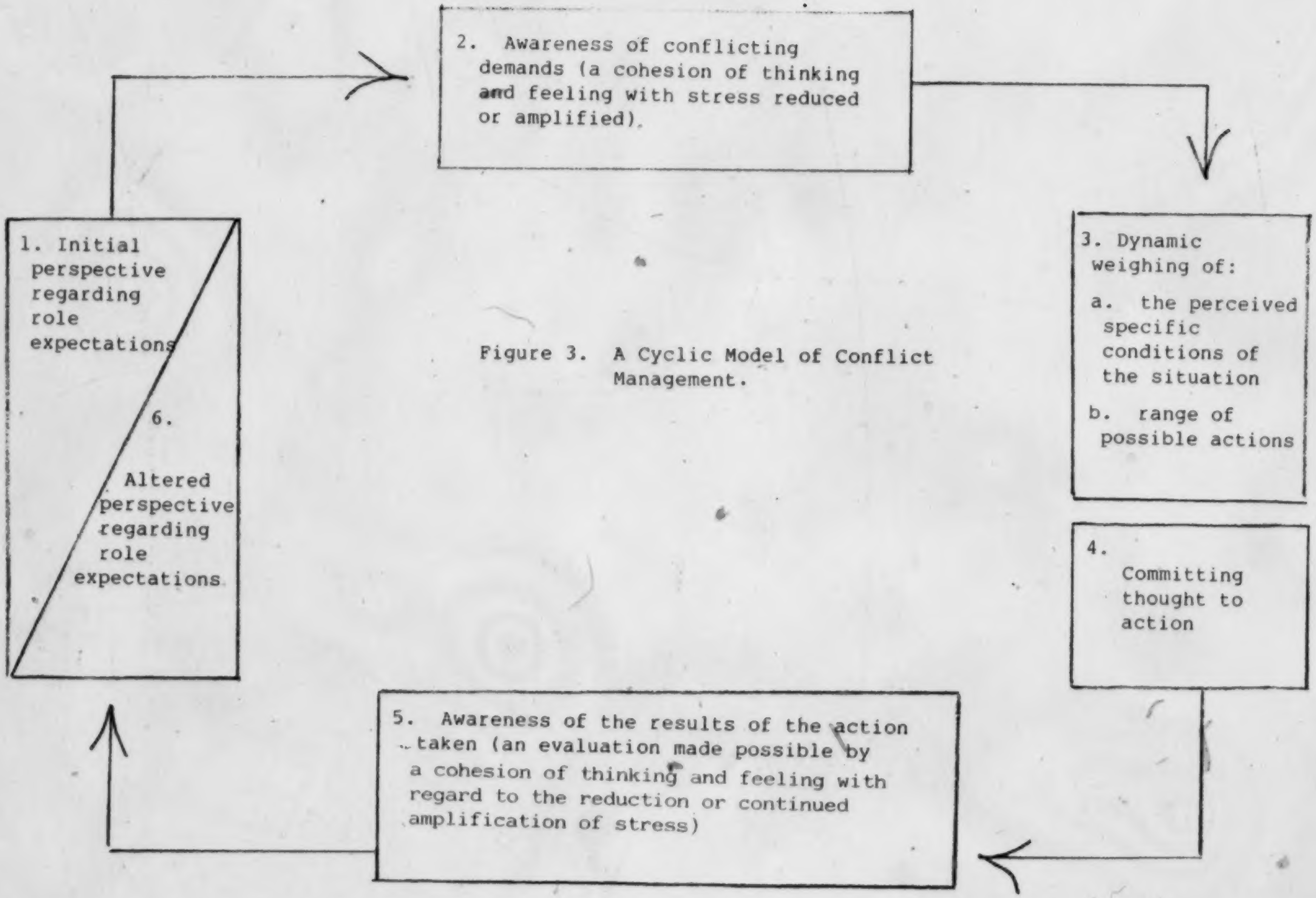
1. Initial perspective regarding role expectations
2. Awareness of conflicting demands (a cohesion of thinking and feeling with stress reduced or amplified).
3. Dynamic weighing of:
a. the perceived specific conditions of the situation
b. range of possible actions
4. Committing thought to action
5. Awareness of the results of the action taken (an evaluation made possible by a cohesion of thinking and feeling with regard to the reduction or continued amplification of stress)
6. Altered perspective regarding role expectations

Figure 3. A Cyclic Model of Conflict Management.

response ranging between the following two circumstances.

a. Eustress is a term denoting stress felt where attention is raised due to perceived reasonable congruence between the individual's expectations and the expectations of significant others. Thus the situation is seen as having a satisfactory balance between volitional and imposing expectations. This acceptance soon becomes taken for granted, loses relevance, and individual attention fades.

b. Distress is a term denoting stress felt where attention is raised due to perceived unreasonable conflict between the individual's expectations and often the expectations of significant others. Thus the situation is seen where the balance of expectations (mentioned above) is unsatisfactory. Satisfactory expectations are not being attained.

This conflict can be caused internally, as well, where the individual imposes unrealistic expectations on himself. Such intrapersonal conflict is commonly caused by role participant ambiguity and self-overload. Conflict involving another person is interpersonal. In both cases conflict involves an interaction between volitional and imposing expectations.

Where distress is perceived in either of the above circumstances, according to Schutz (1970), relevance is "primary" and attention, rather than fading, intensifies. Thus the individual continues to be sensitive to the dissonance at hand, being unclear as to how to deal with it.

3. Dynamic weighing. The feeling of doubt is followed by a search for acceptable alternatives. This search requires two

basic considerations which are dynamically weighed together to establish the worth of various projected outcomes.

a. The specific conditions of the conflict are unique. No situations will be exactly like previous situations, nor will any situation reoccur exactly as now. However, there remain similarities which are transferrable in certain respects to the present. Of particular importance is that certain familiar forces call for the attention and adherence of the individual. Yet, while imposing expectations are perceived to have certain powers, the individual himself recognizes that he has certain powers to represent his own expectations. Figure 4, Comparison of Maslow-Porter Hierarchy of Needs, Herzberg Hierarchy of Work-Related Needs, and an Adaptation of Engle and Longstreet's (1972) Power Dimensions, is presented. This figure suggests that commonly perceived powers closely parallel hierarchies of human needs. As needs play a daily part in the maintenance and motivation of an individual, so, it would appear, do these powers. Further, as an individual feels deficient regarding a particular need, he loses that same negotiating power, and perhaps cedes it to those representing opposing views. By the same token, as an individual feels reasonably fulfilled regarding a particular need, he will also feel a sense of power from that fulfillment.

b. An individual has a repertoire of possible actions. As he weighs the power struggles between his own and the imposing expectations, he also weighs the values of various outcomes of possible actions taken from his repertoire. Such actions exist between two extremes. The first is to comply with the newly

Maslow-Porter	Herzberg		Adaptation of Engle and Longstreet's Power Dimensions
Self-actualization	Work Itself Achievement	MOTIVATION FACTORS	Power of Joy Power of Idealism and Altruism and Service Power of Productive Thought Power of Child Dependency
Autonomy	Possibility of Growth Responsibility		Power of Self-growth and Self-betterment Power of Autonomy
Esteem	Advancement Recognition Status		Power of Job Promotion Power of Approval Power of Prestige Power of Reputation
Affiliation	Interpersonal Professional Relations District policy	MANAGEMENT FACTORS	Power of Comradery, Affiliation, and Groupness Power of the Law, Policy, and Procedure Power of Authority
Security	Job Security Technical Competence of Supervisors Work Conditions Salary and Benefits		Power of Job Security Power of Expertise Power of Finance Power of Coercion and Physical power

Figure 4. Comparison of Maslow-Porter Hierarchy of Needs, Herzberg Hierarchy of Work-Related Needs, and an Adaptation of Engle and Longstreet's (1972) Power Dimensions.

imposed expectations. The second is to oppose them. Generally however, there is a meeting place between these two extremes that must be met to satisfy opposing expectations.

Figure 5, Dynamic Weighing of the Situational Forces and the Repertoire of Possible Actions, shows how these two considerations are balanced. Below the line are shown the possible actions. Above the line are shown general valences that are allotted to situations after the various relevant powers have been weighed.

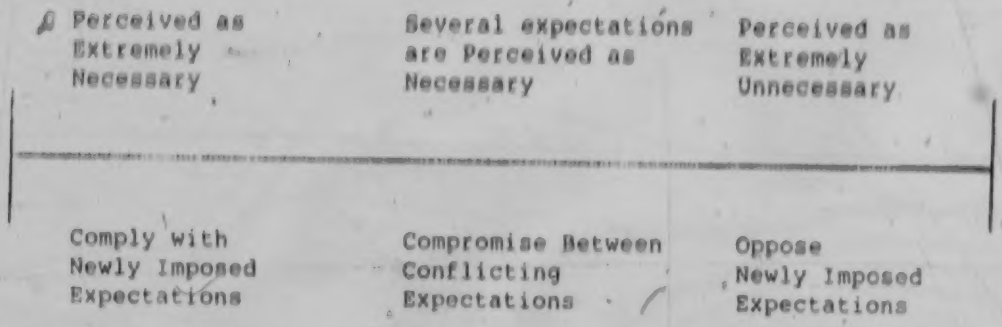
Perceived as Extremely Necessary
Several expectations are Perceived as Necessary
Perceived as Extremely Unnecessary
Comply with Newly Imposed Expectations
Compromise Between Conflicting Expectations
Oppose Newly Imposed Expectations

Figure 5. Dynamic Weighing of Situational Forces and the Repertoire of Possible Actions.

4. Committing thought to action. The individual moves from a future perfect fantasy to the present where he commits himself to one of the above responses. This is the initiation of what he chooses to attend to. It is important to point out that action need not be seen as vigorous. It might be passive, as in the individual's refusal to participate by ignoring another expectation. Or, it might involve internal acceptance by the individual which

would not require an external act on his part. In such a covert case the act, in a cognitive sense, has been initiated. This type of act is as important as an overt act.

5. Awareness of the results of the action taken. Once again the individual weighs the worth of his actions. This evaluation, like the original sensation, is a cohesion of thought and felt stress. If the action has been successful, the stress is reduced. If it has not, it remains or perhaps is amplified.

6. Altered perspective. Whether the conflict has been solved, unsolved, or forgotten, an individual figuratively returns to the same place as he started in the cycle. Yet to be the same is not possible because his attention to conflicting expectations and the subsequent cycle has changed him. Therefore, the very mechanism that he used to view his expectations has altered. His perspective has changed. If he was successful in solving the problem to his satisfaction, he will have confirmed notions regarding the appropriateness of his actions. As well, he will see himself in a stronger more confident position than before. If he has been unsuccessful, he must automatically continue through the cycle until he comes to a solution he can live with.

The cycle, as described, does not necessarily have to be based on rational thought or on clear emotions. Nor, as alluded to earlier, does it have to be outwardly portrayed. It simply needs to be attended to. It is individual. It is sparked by felt-thought stress. Yet stress itself is necessary for all human life. Stress is inescapable. It is what brings people to succeed, to do well, and to carry on. It too is what makes them breathe air, digest food, and laugh or cry about their human conditions. But it can become problematic when amplified to the point of heightened and/or prolonged frustration and anxiety. In such a state an individual looks for relief. Such a need initiates the cycle, described earlier. While each individual's perceptions and solutions seem to be different, the cycle itself is the same.

To conclude, it has been necessary to attempt to describe perspective for three reasons. The first is because it is important to see that perspective alters and changes more as a matter of rule rather than exception. The second is because it is important to show that a final analysis of perspective is highly unlikely because of its tendency to change. The third is that perspective is a highly individualized concept. These three points have an important bearing on the findings of this study, as will be shown later, and on the process of interpretation, as will be shown next.

Interpreting Meanings

This part endeavours to explain how the researcher and the research subjects might accurately interpret the perspectives of the latter regarding the management of conflicting role expectations. In addressing this topic it appears that there are two major problems. The first regards retrospection: Have relevant concerns emerged? How accurate are memories? The second problem regards disclosure: How willing are the subjects to speak of role conflict management? Do they trust the researcher?

Retrospection

According to Bronowski (1977), Progoff (1975), and Sheehy (1976, 1981) the best way to come to grips with why an individual thinks and behaves in a certain manner is to look to his past. But the past involves a broad expanse of memories. Therefore, they agree, the important things that the past can offer lie in the extremes of experience. In the case of this study, the essence of experience lies in conflicts which remain as critical to the subjects. Focusing on such critical conflicts, then, is where there is hope of understanding the development of the subjects' perspective regarding role expectations.

Yet what are the chances of accurately recapturing such critical experiences of conflict? Figure 6, The Interpretive Gap (Part A), shows that a conceptual distance in time exists between the subjects now and the time of the actual occurrence of critical conflict. Note the boxes on the left of this figure. They represent actual incidents of conflict that occurred in the lives of each of the subjects. While these boxes are shown in a similar rectangular shape, in reality the experiences of each individual are quite unique. On the right are boxes representing the teachers' present perspectives. Of course, the present perspectives, while also shown in uniform rectangles, are also as unique as the original critical experiences. As

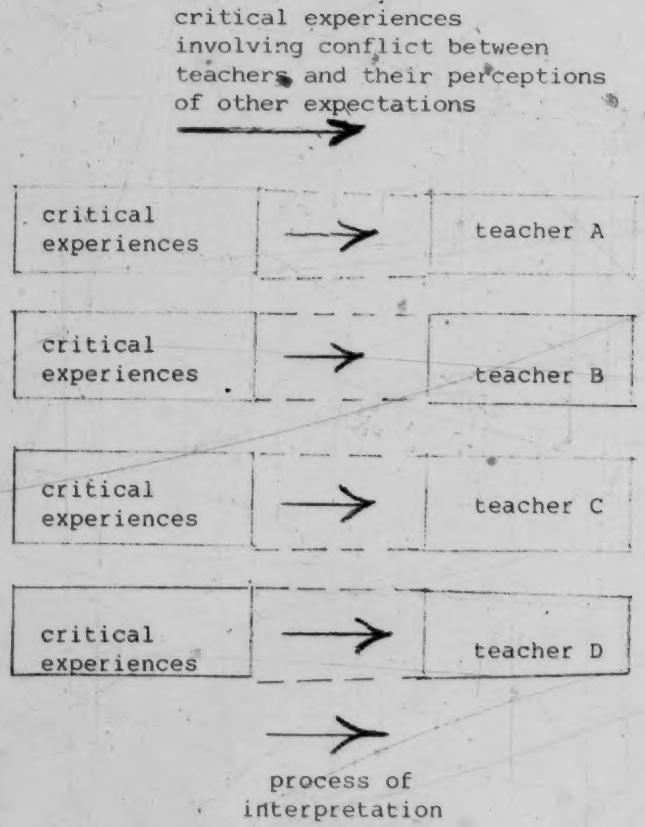
critical experiences involving conflict between teachers and their perceptions of other expectations
critical experiences
teacher A
critical experiences
teacher B
critical experiences
teacher C
critical experiences
teacher D
process of interpretation

Figure 6. The Interpretive Gap (Part A).

This figure shows the conceptual distance between the teachers' recollection of certain critical incidents and their present perspectives.

was shown earlier, the fact that experiences are considered to be critical is determined over time. Perspective has changed. Therefore, it is the memory of these experiences that the subjects are influenced by, not the actual experiences. Thus the process of interpreting critical experiences is problematic because a gap exists between the actual experience of the past and the present perspective. This gap is complicated because the perspective through which the subjects view the past has changed considerably since the time of those critical experiences.

According to Barritt et al (n.d.) memory and experience of time are locked together. Whenever something is reported from memory it means it happened before, otherwise it would not be possible to tell it from immediate experience. Memories are simply those experiences which are not happening now. Barritt et al go on to explain that memories are an essential part of experience. Experience is the basis of remembering; and remembering is necessary to make it possible to think, act, and talk in the first place. If this were not so, every experience would be for the first time, making talk about it impossible. The authors go on to claim that there is a tendency in educational research to attempt to decontaminate recall by objectifying the source and eliminating perceptual error. However, to do so means to eliminate the subjective experience, thus missing the point of how memory affects present experience and perspective. Memory moves along into the present from the past with the experiencer. Because of this, memory is changed, altered, and often explained differently with the occurrence of each new experience. But these memories, altered or not, are the basis of meeting new situations as they occur. So, rather than viewing these memories as faulty, it is better to see them as historians do. They regard meanings of events to be most difficult to understand during the time of the actual experience. To historians time must pass so it can be understood in a fuller context. Adopting such a view then, this study does not look to the original experience. Rather, it looks to the recollection of experiences. Because of this position the activity of retrospection should be viewed as a completing rather than a distorting of understanding. For as time passes, experiences deemed to be critical become so because retrospection allows the subjects an opportunity to relate various experiences to each other. In this way a contrast is formed, making one experience more significant than another.

Disclosure

MacDonald (1981) claims that explorative and evaluative studies in education have commonly been preoccupied with trying to eliminate the involvement of the researcher during data taking. Such attempts at "sterilization", he claims, have had an unfortunate effect on such work. The irony of this effort, he suggests, is that in eliminating one imposing variable researchers usually end up superimposing another. This superimposition often comes in the form of a previously determined questionnaire.

But if the researcher is truly interested in the "emic" viewpoint, it cannot be gained by taking the questions to the subjects. The reason is because questions define the limits and direction of the responses disallowing the subjects from offering points which they consider to be of original or extenuating relevance. As the subjects see a list of prescribed questions appearing before them they are put in the position of someone who does not know, someone who has come in halfway through the study, perhaps deficient and lacking expertise in the area to be studied. Thus MacDonald argues that subjects are possibly going to cede the researcher the honorific position of one who is the expert.

The danger in allowing this type of one-sidedness to occur, MacDonald adds, is that the subjects have so often shown that they will offer incomplete and often shallow answers. Such answers are offered largely because the subjects have had little opportunity to really reflect on the topic or to feel committed toward it. Another danger is that trust is rarely given an opportunity to form between the subjects and the researcher. Without trust and commitment of the subjects the researcher is left questioning the worth of what has transpired between them. The talk has been one-sided. In a sense, the subjects have been held captive by the interview. Because of this captivity the gap continues to exist between the subjects and the researcher, with little having been disclosed and little new understanding gained by the researcher.

Figure 7, The Interpretive Gap (Part B), is an extension of Part A, shown earlier. Once again the actual experiences are shown in the boxes on the left. The present teacher perspectives are in the boxes at the centre. This figure has been designed to show that the researcher is another step removed from the teachers' recalling and interpreting their critical experiences. Therefore, the interpretive gap widens. In order to move toward bridging this gap it is necessary to make certain assumptions about interpretation and conditions necessary for disclosure to occur.

1. The researcher should assume that understanding between people is not a normal state.

2. In order to comprehend or understand another person it is necessary to overcome a gap that separates them.

3. This gap will remain as long as the researcher is perceived by the subjects to be separate and objective. The effect of objectivity alone is what Buber (1970) calls the "I - it realm". Here the subjects are seen as objects and the researcher is apart and solitary.

4. The intent of the research should be to promote disclosure through what Buber calls the "I - thou realm" where the subjects and the researcher come together as "we" committed and willing to disclose meanings.

5. The aim of this research is to find agreement or consensus of meanings. Such an aim requires each participant in the research to contribute through the process of negotiation. This process requires time, patience, and in some cases,

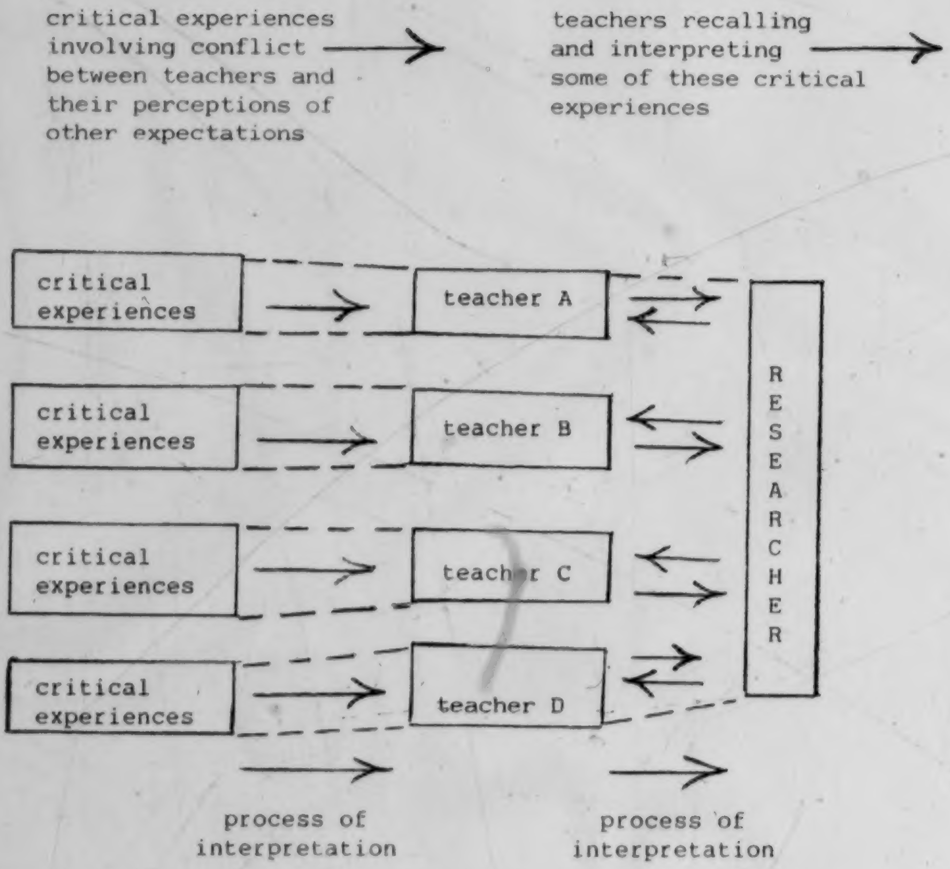
critical experiences involving conflict between teachers and their perceptions of other expectations
teachers recalling and interpreting some of these critical experiences
critical experiences
critical experiences
critical experiences
critical experiences
teacher A
teacher B
teacher C
teacher D
RESEARCHER
process of interpretation
process of interpretation

Figure 7. The Interpretive Gap (part B).

This figure shows the conceptual distance between the teachers' recollection of certain critical incidents and the interpretations by the researcher.

disagreement before disclosure/or understanding is made possible.

6. The researcher needs to recognize that his own beliefs, values, motives, and expectations are constructed and perpetuated on the same basis as the subjects of the study (discussed in the previous section). He must see that his own ability to make sense of his world is dependent on his personal reference structure (or perspective) and the situation which brings him to this point in time. It then follows that his perspective is inextricably part of him and, as he undertakes this study, his perspective becomes part of it as well. Attempts to bracket or sterilize his views from the study merely result in a paling of meaning as he is forced to retire from in-depth interaction with the subjects. Rather, while he is necessarily the project leader, he needs to view himself as an equal partner in the process of negotiation.

7. The researcher must regard the subject as having a unique and well-developed perspective. Meaning, and subsequently understanding, can emerge only as a result of each seeing the other as fully autonomous. It is the researcher's responsibility to build on this notion of autonomy, encouraging a sense of mutuality and trust between the two. Bauman (1978) suggests that the subject and researcher negotiate meanings in a true democratic sense. To quote:

> The problem of understanding is fully grasped only as "the other" is capable of sustaining his autonomy ... it is then that "the other" is recognized as a subject endowed with authority in the negotiation which follows. (p.203)

Bauman's point is conceptualized in Figure 7 by the alternating arrows between teachers and the researcher. The arrows represent the dependency of the act of interpretation on the interaction between these actors.

8. Disclosure requires both the subjects and the researcher to respect the vulnerability of the other. There should be no sense of rivalry between them. Such a feeling of respect requires mutual trust, possible only through exposure, exchange, and a trading and sharing of ideas by both parties. Both need to show their willingness to risk disclosure before intelligent commitment will be made by both sides, drawing them across the gap (Merleau-Ponty, 1964).

9. As ideas are shared, new insights are gained. Therefore, both the subjects' and the researcher's perspectives change.

10. Both the subjects and the researcher must see that something can be gained from the negotiation process. Something new and worthwhile will ultimately make their participation worthwhile.

These assumptions, when adhered to, enable the researcher to move toward interaction with the subjects of the study, feeling more confident that disclosure will be enhanced by such preparation.

To summarize, making meanings is part of the human condition. As an individual matures he gains a sense of perspective, being able to view his environment, respond to situations before him, and make decisions based on his perspective. Yet perspective, it has been shown, tends to alter and change. An individual weighs the pros and cons of the extent of his involvement in activities and evaluates the possible outcomes. After such an evaluation his perspective has altered, even when a notion has been confirmed. Therefore, it is important that the researcher accepts the changing form of perspective. However, he has before him two further difficulties. These difficulties regard overcoming what has been referred to as the "interpretive gap". The first problem involves memory and the part it plays regarding present perspective. The position taken herein is that the study need not focus on the original critical experiences of the subjects. Rather, it will emphasize the memory of those critical experiences because it is the memory that affects the present. The second problem involving interpretation involves disclosure. It was found that interpretation of another's perspective is possible only through empathetic understanding. Both the subjects and the researcher must view each other as equals in a democratic attempt to explore and disclose meanings. Therefore, real understanding is possible only through serious commitment, trust, and in-depth, often lengthy negotiation by participants.

But the problem of interpretation has not yet been solved. A gap still exists between the researcher and the reader. This problem will be discussed in the next chapter along with a description of the logistics involved in carrying out the study.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODS

In the previous chapter certain theoretical assumptions were made about the development of teachers' perspectives and conditions necessary to investigate perspectives. This chapter extends those theoretical notions to include practical considerations regarding the research methods chosen for this study. First, the rationale for collaboration is explained. This explanation is followed by details given about sampling and recruitment techniques, data gathering, data analysis and presentation of the data. Further, the collaborative research method used in this study is not commonly known in the field of education as an investigative style. For this reason the following chapter offers a fairly extensive discussion about the trustworthiness and the limitations of the research method.

Collaborative Research

In order to investigate how teachers become selectively responsive to various expectations of their role, it is necessary to explore the development of the subjects' perspectives related to this phenomenon. Personal experiences and, more specifically, certain perceived critical experiences strongly contribute to the construction of perspective. Therefore, retrospection is vital to the exploration of the phenomenon. But recollecting incidents of the past can be problematic as details are added or deleted over time, making certain aspects of these memories rather hazy.

However, it is these often faded realities that shape and provide the present perspective. The here and now is dependent on such memories. Therefore, the precise conditions of the original experience are less important than the image retained.

An appropriate way to obtain memory-dependent information is through an ongoing conversation of a collaborative form. Collaboration requires the teacher and researcher to be coauthors of the investigation. Between them meaning is negotiated as they mutually probe topics in an empathetic bond. The goal of such an interdependency helps foster an attitude between teacher and researcher where disclosure is seen as vital to the partnership.

While distancing between individuals in a face-to-face encounter can override the above attitude (Goffman, 1967; Murphy, 1966), it is possible to relieve such a tension by building a sense of mutual trust. True mutuality is where collaborators come together with a common intent. In such an atmosphere masking the truth, because of the threat of ridicule, is lessened as conversants are reassured that the intent of the dialogue is to serve them and is not an evaluation or criticism. Further, the researcher must inform the subjects of the full scope of the study before they can see themselves as coactors. Disclosure emerges only under such circumstances. Recently, several studies have been undertaken in the field of education based on this position (Bain, 1980; Boag, 1980; Boyce, 1981; Carson, 1982; Connelly, 1980; Elbaz, 1980; Graham, 1981; Hawke, 1980; Hayes, 1980; Janesick, 1981; McHugh et al, 1974; Shapiro, 1981). These investigations help provide the rationale for the research methods proposed in this study.

Sampling and Recruitment

As was shown in a review of related literature all teachers respond selectively to expectations of their role. However, the review indicated that teachers of fifteen or more years experience are more successful than their juniors at balancing the expectations of others with those of their own. While this does not imply that teaching skills necessarily improve with experience, it does indicate that these teachers become more skilled at selecting things they will do in role. More experienced teachers also presumably have a large store of critical experiences which contribute to such a selectivity. Further, in a sense, they are secure in their positions and thus willing to disclose their successes with regard to the phenomenon in question. For these reasons teachers of fifteen years experience or greater are considered to be the best candidates for this collaboration.

Because of the extensive nature of the interviews it was necessary to limit the number of participants. It was originally decided that three would be an acceptable number. Three was seen as a small enough number for one researcher to manage, while providing some possibilities for comparisons among individuals. However, this number was later changed to four as it was decided to include the teacher involved in the pilot study as well.

The pilot study was undertaken with one elementary school teacher. Originally it had been the researcher's intention to conduct two interviews, each of one hour duration. The interviews were undertaken to test probing techniques for eliciting responses. This also gave the researcher an opportunity to test his skills of transcribing and analyzing data. Further, it was seen that new problems and questions might emerge. Therefore, the researcher would have a chance to alter plans before the main study commenced. As it happened, the main alterations regarded such problems as the setting of agendas and running of the tape recorder. Overall, the pilot was administered in similar fashion to the main study. Thus there appeared to be little in the way of spoilage of the data. Therefore, despite the fact that the pilot subject had fewer years experience than the others, it was felt that the additional data might well prove useful in the comparisons made later.

It was decided that the subjects of the study should not be acquainted nor should they work with each other. They should be selected from four different schools. These precautions were attempts to see that one perspective would not dominate the others and force premature closure of the interview conversations (Glaser & Straus, 1967). It was further decided that the researcher should not be socially acquainted with these teachers prior to the study as such previous role relations might hamper the serious attitude necessary between teacher and researcher (Spradley, 1979).

Regarding the recruitment of teachers, it was originally thought that ten to twenty teachers could be used as a pool from which the actual research subjects could be selected. The selection procedure would have involved some type of screening technique. At first this approach was seen to be advantageous. The reason was because it might have assured the researcher that he had subjects who were superior in their abilities to articulate their views about the phenomenon. As well, those teachers selected could also be selected on the basis of their representativeness of the larger group, thus providing parameters for the phenomenon being studied.

However, it was decided that a type of screening was not viable for two important reasons. The first regards selection on the basis of ability to articulate thoughts. It was an assumption underlying the theoretical position described earlier that, where true empathy exists, meanings can and will emerge. The measure of good articulation depends on the conversation, and the worth of a subject's ability in this way would only begin to surface later on in the study. Therefore, the selection of teachers on the basis of ability to articulate their views would be inconsistent with the theory stance which required a maintenance of the conversation through adhering to the welfare of all the conversants.

The second claim of the above-mentioned screening technique was that it would set parameters for the study. However, this process would have proven to be too lengthy for one researcher to undertake. As this is an exploratory study, it was decided to leave the job of defining and testing such boundaries to future studies. Further, the suggestion of stockpiling teachers for the purposes of screening was also felt to be a contradiction of the theory position of this study. The rationale was simple; if the subjects were expected to commit themselves to the study, the study had to be committed to them. Therefore, the suggestion of asking for a commitment from individuals and then rejecting them was seen to be manipulative and again a break in trust and mutual respect.

In approaching individuals to participate in the study it was considered important for these individuals to be aware that the study would give them an opportunity to pause in their busy lives to reflect on the interaction of expectations which influence them. This type of introspection has proven to be extremely satisfying for teachers in similar studies (Elbaz, 1980; Hayes, 1980).

As well, it was absolutely vital that prospective teacher-collaborators were aware of the expectations this investigation would hold of them. Therefore, it was necessary to inform them of such expectations as part of the recruitment plan. A list of these follows.

a. The subjects must have a serious attitude toward the exploration of the phenomenon being studied.

b. The subjects must be aware of the dependency of the study on self-disclosure and be agreeable to making such disclosures.

c. The subjects must appreciate that in negotiating meanings conflict of opinions may be necessary. Bearing this in mind, the subjects are held to represent their own views and not be dominated by what the researcher may consider more correct.

d. When the subjects consider disclosure to be harmful to their own or others' welfare, they are expected to pursue the conversation in such a way that all parties are protected.

e. When it is necessary to retreat from a sensitive topic it must be done openly without glossing-over or hiding the need to be protective.

f. The subjects must be willing and available to participate in several lengthy taped interviews.

g. The subjects must be willing to make periodic entries into a journal, to read a number of materials provided by the researcher, and to assist in the construction of a short personal profile.

The actual recruitment of subjects required the knowledge and support of their school principals. A list of principals was gathered together based on information offered by faculty members, university field services, and through associations gained by the researcher as a student-teacher advisor. This list proved to be a helpful starting point. All principals were contacted by letter (in Appendix 1) and later by a follow-up phone call. All principals were supportive of the proposed study. One principal even asked to be involved as a subject if a similar project on administrators were to be done. All principals were able to offer one or two names of teachers who might agree to participate as research subjects. The total number of prospective teachers became nine. These teachers were also contacted by letter (in Appendix 1) with a follow-up phone call. Of those nine, the task was to select three subjects for the main study while remaining faithful to theoretical and ethical conditions mentioned earlier. But, as had been anticipated, natural selection played a large part in the designation of these subjects. First, two male teachers did not respond to the letter or phone call messages left for them. Two female teachers responded that they were simply too busy to participate in such a study. Two other teachers, one male and one female, from the same school responded, through their principal, that they were interested. However, for various reasons, meeting times had to be rescheduled several times and it was eventually agreed that their present schedules were demanding enough already without their taking on a new project. Fortunately, at the same time, three teachers responded that they were indeed interested in participating in the study and were able and willing to meet the criteria stated in the letter. To be absolutely sure of this commitment the researcher met with these three teachers, further informing them of what the study would require of them. In this way the subjects were given every opportunity to decline involvement if they felt in any way unsure. However, such was not the case, and it was agreed the collaboration experience would begin the following month.

The subject for the pilot study was recruited through a school where the researcher had acted as a student-teacher advisor. Having served in this capacity proved advantageous for the researcher, allowing him the quick access necessary to initiate interviews early in the academic year. As mentioned, it was later decided to include the pilot with the main study. This change required the teacher of the pilot study to participate in three more interviews. Such an idea, as it turned out, was very much to the liking of this teacher because she was finding participation in the interviews interesting and helpful to her. In the way described the researcher recruited four subjects, three females and one male. Their range in experience at the beginning of the study was twelve to over twenty years.

The recruitment had been completed and the plan had been simple. It was based on a selection procedure similar to what Jackson (1968) had done in studying "outstanding" teachers. It was also similar to West's (1981) history work with retired educators and Shapiro's (1981) interviews with "high level" administrators. Each of these studies looked to a selected few subjects who represented a particular trait. Similarly this study looks to a limited number of possible subjects (those with fifteen to twenty or more years experience). Like the above studies this study required a great time commitment of its subjects. Because of this time commitment the recruitment and selection of subjects was largely opportunistic. In other words, those willing and available to take part were seen as acceptable for the purpose of the study. Further, while there appeared to be little researcher control shown in the recruitment technique, it is important to state that the aim of this study was not so intent on control. Control was not seen as a practical aim because of the exploratory nature of this investigation. As well, the literature review has shown that all teachers selectively responded to conflicting expectations in one manner or another. Because all teachers share this skill all or any teachers could have proven to be useful informants.

Gathering the Data

Five interviews were held with each of the four teachers in this study. These interviews were one to one and a quarter hours in duration and were a minimum of four weeks apart. An outline of this schedule is shown below.

1. September 1982: Recruitment of teacher for pilot study
2. October - November 1982: Pilot study
3. October - November 1982: Recruitment of teachers for main study
4. November 1982: 1st interviews
5. December 1982: 2nd interviews
6. January 1983: 3rd interviews
7. February - March 1983: 4th interviews
8. April - May 1983: 5th interviews

The four teachers were interviewed separately. As well, attempts were made to have the interviews run concurrently so that the first interviews were all held within a few days of each other and so on. All interviews were taped in their entirety. By taping the researcher was freed from note-taking allowing him to take his place as coactor in the conversation. The time and place of the interviews depended somewhat on the circumstances. For the most part the teachers' classrooms proved most useful, providing a private and yet business-like atmosphere conducive to the intent of the interview.

While participant observation has become a popular technique of investigation by educational researchers, it was deemed unnecessary for this study. As the intent of the study was to probe critical experiences leading to a present perspective, it seemed likely most of those things reported would emanate from a time well before the arrival of the researcher. Even with critical experiences arising during the research time it was felt that observations would be difficult as these experiences would often happen where they could not be observed. As well, it was felt that scrutiny of the teachers might have caused them to feel unduly influenced by an accentuation of the phenomenon. Therefore, the notion of observation was set aside and the decision to use conversation alone stood.

Topic Review and Information Sheet

As mentioned, it was important that the teachers were clear as to the purpose of the study and the atmosphere necessary to carry out such an investigation before the study began. It was also important, as suggested by Hayes (1980), to review these details again at the beginning of the first interview. Such a review was done and had a marked positive effect on fostering such an atmosphere. An information sheet was given to each subject during the first interview as well. Addressing this information sheet served two purposes. First, it provided some details about themselves, contributing to the construction of their own profile. This profile, according to Connelly (1980), makes a valuable addition to interview data. Second, it contextualized the discussion, allowing a general focusing on the topic from the beginning. A sample of the information sheet may be seen in

Appendix 1.

Researcher Disclosure

The researcher then presented to the teachers a short written account outlining certain critical incidents which led him to the topic of study. The teachers were also offered a stick figure drawing which showed a character juggling a variety of expectations. These items (found in Appendix 2) were to act as catalysts, providing additional focus specifically related to the phenomenon and initiating the disclosure exercise. As was anticipated the catalysts were seen differently by the subjects. For instance, following is an example of how one subject found the written account useful. Note how this subject did not relate to the opening statement, but as she perused the paper she was reminded of some similar experiences that she had had in the past.

> Paragraph 1:
> No. I'm sorry I haven't had those types of experiences.
> Paragraph 2:
> But in this paragraph where you wanted to really help your students and so on, I saw myself there because that was my hope; that I would be the person to spark their life and really get things going. And so that really touched a familiar chord.
> Paragraph 3:
> When you said "I wanted to run my own show", I very much like interaction with others. But, at the same time, I've always been able to work on my own and achieve a lot of satisfaction, doing things on my own. Like I don't need//Well, we all need each other certainly. But I can be very comfortable and find things very satisfying just pursuing an end. And I don't do it because of what someone else might think about it. Like, if I feel committed to it, if I feel something will help my students, I don't mind the length of what I go to on my own time and effort to help them. And that was sort of the feeling I got when I read what you had written there.

While the above subject responded to the written account, one teacher was more attracted to the stick figure juggling expectations.

Note that this teacher felt a need to speak about the figure because it was not complete. Therefore, she was compelled to complete it from her perspective.

> You called this "Teacher Juggling Expectations". And you've listed the various things: things that a teacher might have to be concerned with each day. But, they are only school things. Now I have many other things to do, as well. And maybe its worse for a woman than it is for a man. I don't know. But this is what I find the hardest. If I was just a teacher I'm sure that I could handle nearly everything. But there's all the other things: your home responsibilities, the community responsibilities, and things like that, that you've got to do for yourself as well. And that's what I find the hardest to fit in.

These selections show how two teachers responded to the catalysts. They give a fair indication of how the conversation was initiated. The catalysts provided a focus to stimulate the act of recall by the subjects. At the same time, the catalysts allowed freedom enough for the subjects to alter the researcher's examples, putting the examples into their own contexts. With the catalysts providing the opportunity for the subjects to focus on the general phenomenon in question, and yet to be freed of presumptuous interpretation by the researcher, the autonomy of the subjects was secure from the outset of the interviews.

Teacher Journals

The teachers were also expected to contribute their own catalysts as well. This was to be done in the form of a journal. Because recollections often happen in a serendipitous fashion, the teachers were asked to make brief daily entries in a personal journal regarding anything which might touch on the study.

These entries, it was hoped, would provide new directions to explore at subsequent interviews (Connelly, 1980). This form of catalyst recording proved quite successful with two of the subjects as they made regular and thoughtful entries, thus providing many examples upon which to base later conversation. However, as with the original catalysts, the journals tended to produce rather different results. For example, one teacher was able to cite general situations that had brought her to her present views. The following selection from the transcripts of the second interview with this subject illustrates this point.

> The things I've got, I'm afraid they don't go very far back. I probably don't have a very//with the exception that a long time ago. I decided that I would not spend my time going to after school in-services because I largely found they were not very helpful. Many a time we were just given a hand-out and then the person who was giving the in-service proceeded to read the hand-out to us. Or, we were given explanations of curriculum guides; which were self-explanatory, shall we say. The guides were not very complicated. They were easy to understand if we read them ourselves. So further in-service wasn't really necessary. When I (sighing) started teaching there was quite (pause) not a pressure exactly (pause) on people to go to these in-services but it was recommended, shall we say.

While the above subject was able to direct her journal comments at the cause of her present views, another subject preferred to discuss how her present views were changing. Reporting about such a change proved to be useful, as well, because it illustrated that this particular teacher had felt considerable dissonance in the past, and was now going through a period of change, where she could now manage such dissonance better than before. The following quote is taken from the third interview with this subject.

> I would like to say something that struck me here (pointing to the journal) right at the beginning. The reason that they (people mentioned in a book the subject was reading) were able to interact with these other creatures (wild animals primarily) was because it said they started first doing so mentally and feelingly at the highest possible level. I'd like to just relate that to education because sometimes I feel that education has gone so far in the other direction. We tend to think that superiority or that knowledge, intelligence, the brain is superiority. And so we're thinking in terms of that academic sense. And I don't think that can have a totally lasting effect. And I think that teachers too need to view their students and their work first of all mentally and feelingly at the highest possible level, then you come down to (pause) what can I do to achieve this? And undoubtedly that's what the curriculum planners endeavour to do. And that's what the provincial curriculum is hoping to see. But I think that this is an area that we frequently short-change in education. And even my children this year. Sometimes the thing that has been the highlight of the day has not necessarily been (pause) the educational thing. It has been that little touch of spirit that has brought out something that lasts when the others (pause) drops out of usefulness.

While the above two teachers used their journals regularly, the other two teachers did not tend to keep up their journals, even with reminders. Yet, as it was, they claimed to feel hampered by sheets and references. Therefore, in their cases, it was agreed that the journals would simply stand as available should they be needed. It is important to point out that these journals were not seen as a measure of interpretive reliability. Being simply another technique to encourage clear retrospection, they were considered the property of the subjects. Therefore, it was agreed, the journals would not be collected nor would all subjects have to keep them.

Interview Format

After the first interview, each subsequent interview followed a general pattern. This pattern included three regular steps. A discussion of these three steps follows.

1. Written synopses of the previous interviews and, later, profiles on the subjects were prepared by the researcher. These materials were sent by mail to the teachers and were read by them before the agreed meeting time. The object of these written documents was to confirm and clarify meanings. (Samples of interview synopses and profiles can be found in Appendix 5 and 6 respectively). It is interesting to note the initial responses of these teachers as they first saw the interpretations of the researcher. With several teachers there was a note of apology for sounding pompous or arrogant. All teachers commented on the fascination of seeing their views in print as expressed by another person. For the most part this initial response was one of amazement mixed with disbelief. The following comment from an early interview with one teacher bears this out.

> I've found in reading some of these things. It's like (pause) It's like reading what someone else has said. And I think to myself "Did I say that? Is that what I //." It's really a very interesting thing to read something that you said. And sometimes it sounds like me and then other times I think, "My goodness, I didn't know that's the way I //" (laughing).

2. A portion of the interview was set aside for discussion of journal entries. When the researcher telephoned to arrange this meeting time he was given the opportunity to inquire at that point as to the nature and extent of the journal entries, thus

allotting an appropriate length of time on the agenda. Regardless of the fact that two subjects made few entries, this time was normally scheduled because, written or not, the teachers did come prepared to discuss the synopses which, in turn, provided ample additional topics to address.

3. The researcher anticipated that other catalysts would be necessary over time. Therefore, he devised further catalysts, drawing them from research literature and from discussions with the researcher's peers. Two such catalysts were offered. The first was a stick figure of a teacher in a schoolhouse showing expectations competing for attention (found in Appendix 2). This figure brought out similar responses as the juggling figure, presented earlier. The second (also found in Appendix 2) was a description of two teachers who were, in several respects, very different from each other. This description was introduced to find out how the subjects felt about the general role expectations of teaching. It was primarily offered because the subject of the pilot study reported having experienced critical conflicts which fell largely outside of teaching. Therefore, it became important to probe further to see if this was the extent of her conflicts. AS it turned out it was not. Because the catalyst had proven to be so successful, it was offered to other teachers as well. This catalyst brought a variety of responses. For instance, one teacher disliked "Tony".

> I guess the key note in the difference of the two is that one is a job and one is a (pause) I would say that Tony's

> teaching is a job. He's a good teacher probably. From all outside sources he's a good teacher. I don't know what kind of a relationship he has with kids. He's a good curriculum teacher. He would never be faulted as to getting the program completed. I'm sure that if he had to teach he's taught and he's taught well. (pause) I doubt the kids will (pause) pick up anything from him (pause) other than (pause) just curriculum. In other words he's what I call a curriculum teacher. And to all intents and purposes that's what he gets paid for doing. Well I wouldn't have the time of day for him.

On the other hand, another teacher disliked "Don".

> This Don, I would think he's a candidate for a heart attack. Or even a trip to the mental institution. (laughing) He teaches something once and he finds that everything is totally useless (pause) everything from before is outdated. And he's got to do it all over again. I mean that's nonsense in my (laughs) opinion. And he doesn't have any free time for himself and his family (pause) I don't think I could agree with someone or want to be like that. Talking endlessly at home with his wife about his day's teaching activities. (laughing) I think she must be really fed up with him. Does she have a chance to talk do you think?

While the above two teachers chose a favourite teacher-type they did not feel entirely comfortable with the extreme characteristics of either types they had been presented with. Rather, they preferred to be seen as leaning in one direction or the other. The other two teachers tended more toward the middle. One went to some length to criticize the weak points of both types of teachers. The other teacher, however, chose to emphasize the strengths of the two teacher-types.

Focusing an Open-Ended Interview

Because the subjects and the researcher were considered as equal conversants during the interviews the researcher was particularly concerned that the talk might be allowed to move into unrelated tangents. While the flexibility of the interview style was seen to have its advantages in exploring new directions, it could be so open-ended that the intent of the talk itself might be forgotten. The researcher originally felt that several checkpoints would be needed throughout the interview to keep the conversation geared toward the exploration of the phenomenon in question. However, it became apparent after the first two interviews that adhering to the general interview format would give the interviews satisfactory focus. No special checkpoints were necessary because the exploration itself was so intense that there was little or no opportunity available to move into unrelated tangents. The dialogue within each interview seemed to guide itself. The conversants were continuously directing themselves to whether they were converging on something of mutual meaning or, at least, appeared to be converging on something that seemed related to the phenomenon being studied. The researcher feels that this type of rational focusing occurred for three reasons. A discussion of each of those reasons follows.

1. Exchanging definitions of the phenomenon. Because no true definition of the phenomenon existed, the subjects often found they needed to attempt their own definitions. They found they had to do this regularly to affirm with each other that they were on the track of something useful. Therefore, the lack of a definition was a powerful contributor towards keeping the conversants directed towards discussing something meaningful rather than aimlessly moving in directionless unrewarding tangents.

Following is an example of how attempting to make definitions worked. In this example the subject struggles with the conceptual difference between being able to and having to comply to various expectations. The result of this struggle is that the subject converges on a new sense of meaning. In turn, the researcher offers a definition which leads the subject to comment further about her current situation. Note that "selecting response" is the term this subject uses for "selective response", the phrase initially used by the researcher to describe the weighing mechanism.

> Researcher:
> Do you think definitions are useful?
> Subject:
> I'm not very good at making definitions. Funnily enough all the things I've written and most of the things we've talked about don't really seem to have been my selecting responses. For example, it has been more juggling of expectations more than the other (the written piece offered by the researcher). The selecting response to me gives the impression that you would have time to do all these things (pause) an in-service and so on (pause) meetings. And you choose deliberately not to do one or the other because you don't need it. But in fact most of what I've concentrated on is more that (pause) I've had to do all these things (laughing) or should do all these things. And its more of the juggling.
> Researcher:
> Okay. Now that's important
> Subject:
> Well maybe not that I need to do all these things. I would like to do them all. But I have decided just from the point of time limitations that I will not do some.
> Researcher:
> That's good. Let me try it. I've written down some key words here that I consider to be important for selective response. They are (pause) over time serving in a position as a teacher or role, if you wish, as a teacher you decide what you can and you can't do. You decide what you will or you won't do (pause). And you decide, as well, what you should do and you shouldn't do. Many of those decisions come (pause) because of specific situations, (pause) perhaps happy, positive types of experiences.

> Some are negative conflicting (pause) kind of questions; diverging interests at times that help you make up your mind. Others are a little hazy. They just happen. But anyway that's basically how I see it. (pause) The things you will or won't do. And, although you don't have total choice, there are many things that over the years in teaching you just have to decide because the implicit (pause) almost vagueness involved with being a teacher. There are many things you can and can't ...
>
> Subject:
>
> Right. There are not really many things that you have to do, after school hours that is. And I think a lot of these things that we've been talking about are the after school types of activities. Not actually in classroom activities.

2. Exchanging examples of the phenomenon. The second way the direction of the interviews was kept on track was by the conversants verbally exchanging examples of aspects of the phenomenon in question. This exchange was done similarly to the way written catalysts were offered, with one conversant offering an example and the other conversant responding with another example or a comment from his/her context. Following is an excerpt taken from the fourth interview with one of the subjects. This subject describes a teaching situation she presently prefers. The researcher returns with an example of a related aspect stemming from the subjects talk. Note how the teacher picks up on the researcher's unfinished statement. The outcome of this discussion is a clearer expression about the teaching conditions that the subject prefers.

> Subject:
>
> I taught the youngest children. And if they were going to have problems I don't think they had yet (pause) developed them. And their moms came to meet them everyday and they seemed to be fairly ...

Researcher:
I had a friend in (a city) who taught at (a school) which is a special school for children who are mentally and physically handicapped. And kids would dirty their pants and that type of thing. And so there would be a lot of (pause) I can't think of the word. I'm not looking for "tense moments" just what a lot of people would consider to be as ...
Subject:
They probably felt they wouldn't be doing any teaching. They were being social workers more.
Researcher:
Perhaps. There were distasteful things that a lot of people and maybe a lot of teachers don't like to do. Anyway, he eventually left teaching altogether but I always admired that he was always able to deal with those kids in that way. How would you deal with that type of thing? Or, do you think you would ever be attracted to ...
Subject:
Teaching in a school like that?
Researcher:
Yes
Subject:
I don't think I've got the patience (pause) really. Because you very rarely see if you've made progress or got anywhere with children. That's why I like grade one (pause) you can see (pause) the progress that the children have made in one year. And it is tremendous.
Researcher:
As opposed to grade five?
Subject:
Five or six or any other grade. It's just a continuation. They come in grade one (pause) and they're fresh and new and enthusiastic.

Another illustration of how the examples were exchanged between conversants is shown in the following excerpts taken from the third interview with a different subject. The subject has just finished commenting on a teacher-type that she does not prefer. Looking for further comments from the subject on good or poor teaching the researcher inserts an example of a situation from his own past. Note how the subject then alters this example to her own situation, giving her own preferred way of planning and progressing towards what is necessary to do when one is a beginning teacher.

Subject:
He's (speaking about Tony from catalyst on two teachers) not innovative. He's not creative. The people going to live in the house // The house has probably got a good foundation. And the house is okay. To make it an exceptional house the house has really got warmth and is (pause) worth being around. You have to put something into it (pause) above and beyond. And the job of the teacher is to get the most out of the child everyday. Not just the minimum. The maximum. The maximum amount of thinking, exploring, problem solving. And these things are often ...
Researcher:
You can't get them out of a worksheet. (pause) You can't get them out of a workbook. They have to come with interactions, talking. Either with each other or with yourself or with another (pause) adult so that's ...
Subject:
I don't want to spend anymore time with him because (pause) he's the kind of teacher that could be on a staff and he could come and go and he would never make any impact.
Researcher:
I'd like to ask one question from this. A few years ago, when I was promoting a project in the school that I was the vice principal (pause) in, I attempted to draw together some type of yearly plan, mostly for my benefit and the principal's benefit, because we couldn't understand what was going on in the school. I couldn't appreciate how it was that other teachers didn't // at least half of them said that they couldn't do this. They couldn't lay out // Like, what I wanted was on one sheet; something that would give an idea ...
Subject:
An overview.
Researcher:
An overview.
Subject:
I don't know how you can teach without it.
Researcher:
Okay. So you're// I was just trying to figure out if what you were saying was that you understood why that fifty percent balked at my request for that type of overview?
Subject:
No. No, I can't understand why fifty percent of people would balk at an overview. An overview is different than //

> general outline of your year's endeavour (pause) is far different (pause) than a daily plan. There's a big difference there. I make a weekly plan (pause). This week I'm going to cover in math, in reading, and da-da-da-da. And then, at the end of the week, I look and see what I haven't covered. And then what I won't have covered that week, then I carry that over to the next week. But I never // and I don't know any teacher that does that's worth her salt // How could you possibly (pause) not do it any other way? You have to have some direction. And you're going to have it inside so it would be no problem to just jot it down. And, in fact, I // most teachers do that. Most teachers keep a daily plan (pause) I think here is what I'm going to try to do today. This is what we're going to try to do in math. This is what we are going to do in reading. But (pause) the minute something comes along that is better than the plan is (pause) I go for that. Or, if you teach a concept and the kids don't get it // they're struggling with it, well then, that's your next class. The next class is (pause) I teach that tomorrow differently, so you do have a plan. It's not just that you come in and "what'll we do today kids?" That's dumb. You wouldn't do that. But I'm saying (pause) the key word here is flexibility. You have got to be open to all kinds of options. And you've got to be capable or able to (pause) change your plan. Right?

3. "Piggybacking". The third way the direction of the interviewing was kept on track the researcher calls "piggybacking". Piggybacking involves conversants helping each other along, finishing each others statements. Piggybacking is possible when the conversants are closely aligned in terms of understanding each other. In such cases of interpretive convergence the conversation flows along rather freely. Some examples of piggybacking have already appeared in previous statements. Another example follows. This excerpt deals with a subject's trip to England where she observed elementary school teachers in action.

> Subject:
> I was there for about two months. There's a course that

was available at university. It isn't anymore but it was when I took my degree. And instead of taking course number (a number) which is // I don't know what it is. I don't know. It's kind of early childhood. There was a course that was available for twenty-five students to go to England and study alternative methods in education. So I applied, I qualified, and so I went. And I was away, the course was three weeks and then we toured. But what it was was we visited different schools and we looked at their techniques. And we looked at their kids. And we looked at all kinds of stuff. And then we // we travelled together. And we lived together. And then we'd meet back. And we'd discuss what we'd seen. That had the most influence on my whole teaching. It changed my teaching. It didn't change my way with kids but it (pause) kind of freed me a bit. I lost some of the hang-ups about curriculum. And that was when I really started to use art as a learning form. And music (pause) and a lot of literature. Because that's basically what the teachers in England were doing.

Researcher:

And drama?

Subject:

Of course and drama. I've always used drama (pause) interestingly enough. And I'd always used art but not to the extent that they did.

Researcher:

Is that the type of experience that you think all (pause) starting teachers should have?

Subject:

Yes. I think it would be great.

Researcher:

Do you feel it would kind of // You felt a little trapped. And kind of narrow parameters where teaching was, in your eyes. And this kind of opened things up? It broadened the parameters? And you were over there anyway (motioning to one side).

Subject:

Ya. Ya. Yes. It just made me feel good because ...

Researcher:

You could see somebody else doing something that you were hoping to do anyway.

Subject:

Yes. Ya. Right. And had done // kind of worried about doing (pause) and knowing // its awful ...

Researcher:

Knowing what you are doing is right. And yet, nobody, agrees with you. Or, a few people agree with you. So then it's hard. Did you find there were things that you had just kind of wondered about, and in watching other teachers do it, it clarified a lot?

> Subject:
> Ya. It just kind of established it really firmly for me. The idea of an integrated day // I don't know if you know what I'm talking about? okay. I had done a lot of work with an integrated day (pause) especially with kids at the grade three level. And I had never really seen it done. And I didn't even know what it was called. I didn't have a name for it. But I would get // and we'd sort of go // it's an old, old, old, idea. It goes a long way back.
>
> Researcher:
> Before grades started.
>
> Subject:
> Probably before grades started. Country schools do it because they have to do it you know? And when I came to the city I used to try this every once in awhile and used to just love it. But (pause) when I went to England I saw it done properly in a really fine // They had worked it out so well. I had never seen it before.

There has been great concern shown thus far that the research data should be collected keeping two very important considerations in mind. First, that the views of the subjects should be uncontaminated, or at least free from superimposing views. This consideration required a technique involving a variety of catalysts, offered by the researcher and the subjects themselves, to freely explore the phenomenon in question. Second, it seemed there could be a danger in such freedom being abused, resulting in conversations moving off on wild tangents. Such tangenting would have, of course, meant a total loss of direction for the interviews. These two considerations seemed opposed to each other. However, as discussed, it was found that both written and verbal interactions assisted the conversants to freely explore the phenomenon being studied at the same time as regularly refocusing the direction of the interviews.

Emergent Questions and Responses

After the first three interviews were held with each subject it appeared that a trend was becoming evident regarding the level of talk. The early interviews were almost entirely situational descriptions by the subjects. Such descriptions, Hayes (1980) suggests, can be interpreted quite literally. But, as the fourth and fifth interviews were held, it appeared that both the subjects and the researcher were more able and willing to move beyond concrete descriptions to a more abstract level of conversation. The precise conditions about situations were no longer necessary in the talk between conversants. The transition to this new stage meant that the subjects were better able to articulate their views about aspects of the phenomenon from a more general position than at the beginning of the study. Having come to this point also meant that the subjects were ready to address a set of questions (found in Appendix 4) presented by the researcher. The object of these questions was to confirm notions that the researcher had formed throughout the study (Glaser & Straus, 1967; Spradley, 1979). Interestingly, by the time the subjects were asked to address the questions the answers could almost be anticipated by the researcher. Yet, the quality of those answers reflected the fact that a great deal of thought had gone into them. In a sense, the answers acted as summary responses which were made possible by the extensive discussions that had taken place about the topic previously. Following are examples of some of those questions and their responses.

> Researcher:
>
> Do you think you are a more consistent person? A consistent teacher?
>
> Subject:
>
> In as compared to now as before? Yes. Here again the work experience over a number of years has given me the confidence, a beginning teacher, at least I find // Don't know if all beginning teachers are in the same category but I found that when I began teaching I wasn't sure of myself. I wasn't sure of the level that the kids were working at. I wasn't sure of the content that I was required to present, and all this sort of thing. And I had a tendency to worry. Was I expecting too much from the kids? Not enough? And this sort of thing. But over the years, and the experience that has gone along with the teaching, I have developed a lot of self-confidence and that the self-confidence has come to a consistency. I know if it worked for four previous years, chances are that that method or my approach, or whatever, should work this year. Now it might not. But then I can adapt more easily. I can see and say "Hey okay, it worked four years prior to that". But I had a different set of kids. I can read kids better, and this sort of thing. And I can change. So definitely the consistency is there.

Another example of a summary response is by a different subject. It regards responsibility.

> Researcher:
>
> Do you believe your responsibilities are clearer now than they were when you first started teaching?
>
> Subject:
>
> Yes. You realize the responsibility that is yours even though your motives have always been to extract the most you can out of the kids. The teacher is to expose the most that you can. As you teach you realize the burden is heavier, the responsibility is so, so important. And you're naive. It's like a marriage. When you first enter into it it's kinda like a beautiful relationship, and the longer you go into marriage you realize the intense responsibility. I don't think any eighteeen year old realizes the responsibility of marriage. And teachers are the same. They enter teaching and it's like nursing, or any dedicated profession. So as you go further along // the way you realize where // what you are // what your purpose is. You realize your responsibilities are that much.

The third example of summary responses by the same subject regards rewards.

> Researcher:
> Are you clearer about rewards possible in teaching now than you were years before?
> Subject:
> Yes. Because when you first begin to teach sometimes the rewards // I guess you need rewards because you get feedback. There are times, as you get older, the whole idea of rewards becomes // it is not important. Like that isn't what you are teaching for. It isn't a self-gratification type of thing. Or it's if I'm going to do this and I'm going to get this. And I've never taught for money. So that's // if I was teaching for money I would of quit long ago, because I was teaching for very little money. Because I didn't have a degree and everybody around me had a degree (pause) And I didn't. If it was money that I wanted I could of done something that I could of got more money for than teach. So money was never a factor in whether I would teach, or not, or how well I would teach, or how much I would teach, or how much time I would give to what I was doing. That was never // And even now if you asked me what I made, I would really have trouble thinking. I don't know what // Money has never been important to me. And I know that sounds so pious and silly but it's the truth.

Overall the ability of the subjects to address aspects of the phenomenon in question had grown appreciably from the time of the first interview to the time of the last interview. The significance of this growth is that the data gathered not only provided concrete descriptive details of the development of the subjects' abilities to respond in a selective way to expectations of their role but also included the subjects in the task of deeper analysis. Such analysis, in this case, involved comments on how the development of the phenomenon has affected the subjects.

Data Analysis

Because the study is exploratory, the analysis, like the data gathering, has been very much a process of continuous reorganization of the data. It has not been unlike building a house without a blueprint. In such a case the carpenter has little idea of the finished product. He is supplied with a variety of odd-shaped boards, some of which may be useful and some of which may not. At the beginning, the carpenter constructs a wide array of odd-shaped pieces, only to break them down and start again. Then a pattern emerges, two pieces look the same. But not knowing what the pieces are for, the carpenter has to set them aside until more of the puzzle is put together. In this way the house is built, not necessarily orderly, with the foundation built first, followed by a floor, walls, and so on. Rather, it is built with very little sense of synchrony and prescription. Finally, the carpenter stands back and nods his approval at having built something that stands whole. Yet, even then, he has to wonder, if he were to start over again, would the finished product be the same.

This analogy is intended to show that the researcher of this study was presented with the same basic problem that the carpenter had to deal with. Stated in research terms the problem was that the procedural design of the study could not be prescribed. Due to the exploratory nature of this study a design had to emerge over time. In a sense, a design had to be discovered. For that reason a report about the data analysis procedure became possible only as the data were being gathered. In actuality an overall pattern of analysis could not be described until all data were gathered and the analysis was well underway. In other words, the procedural account depended largely on retrospection.

However, the above point does not mean to say that the study had no direction. The study purpose provided the overall guiding light. That purpose was: to explore the existence of experienced teachers' ability to manage expectations of their role to their own satisfaction as well as to the satisfaction of other stakeholders. Holding to this purpose allowed the researcher to continuously check his bearnings as the study progressed, giving him general indications that the data emerging were addressing the main purpose. Another powerful directive available to the researcher was what Bronowski (1977) claims is the ultimate aim of any scientific study, that is the search for and construction of pattern. The aim of any exploratory study is to provide a coherent, plausible picture. A picture which for this point in time can exist as a unity on its own, a new synthesis enriching the views of those who experience it. The analysis, Bronowski adds, is not an end in itself. It is an exercise in overcoming the endless chaos of facts, giving them a sense of meaning.

> The analysis, then, is not an end in itself; it is not an end at all. It has to be made only in order to extract the common features in what seem to be different experiences; what science is trying to do is make a unity of these. (p.254)

The analysis was closely tied together with the data gathering. Therefore, from the outset all interview data were scrutinized. This process started with the transcription of tapes. It had been originally decided that, as the researcher became more acquainted with the dialogue, he could be selective, drawing specific excerpts from each tape for analysis (MacGregor, 1982).

However, as time progressed it became apparent that all interviews needed to be completely transcribed. Therefore, selectivity of raw data was no longer a consideration. The reason for this will become apparent in the following discussions.

After the data had been gathered from the five interviews, it appeared that four distinct analytical steps had emerged. These steps reflect the level of interpretation made possible by the type of data that was available at a particular point in time. The first three steps of analysis involved the subjects as separate individuals. These three steps have been designated as: Literal Analysis, Inferential Analysis, and Contextual Analysis. The fourth step, the Comparative Analysis, involved the subjects together as a group. A discussion of these steps follows.

Literal Analysis

The type of data that emerged during the first few interviews involved primarily concrete descriptions by the subjects of role conflicts. Such data, as Hayes (1980) had suggested, required literal interpretations. To look for deep hidden meanings might have meant missing the original "first level" meanings available in what the subjects were saying. Therefore, the researcher looked first to intended meanings of the subjects. The organization of the data reflected this interest in retaining the literal views of the subjects. Therefore, as the synopses were formulated little effort was made to eliminate content from the transcripts. For that reason the synopses were often extremely lengthy, being almost as long as the transcripts themselves. However, constructing the synopses did involve a simple editing procedure. The following example will illustrate how this editing was done. The original statement is presented first. It is followed by the synopsis statement. Note how the synopsis statement remains in the first person singular. The synopsis is largely a paraphrase of the original statement, but it was the intention of the researcher to have this statement stand as an edited quote, one which would be presented to the subjects for agreement at the next interview.

> Transcribed statement by the subject from the interview:
>
> I just like to tell a little story first (pause) before we get into it. And I think it would explain as I see this phenomena. Anyway I (pause) am currently working on (name). The (name) is a group of individuals. Some were chosen as school board representatives. Others were chosen as teacher representatives. And the two groups got (pause) together and chose another group, (pause) a third group that are the representatives of both groups. Their meeting // We had two full days plus a Saturday (pause) which is a part day (pause) on the eighteenth nineteenth of November. And (pause) this session is to see what the concerns of teachers are, so that we could have some dialogue between these different groups and get at some understanding. And it struck me very funny the very first day because there were trustees in this group as well. (pause) These were forty-four or forty-five people, I forget. Forty-five people, I guess. Fifteen from (pause) from each, plus the fifteen that are chosen together. Anyways, to make a long story short (pause) when a teacher spoke about the concerns it was done in a very diplomatic manner (pause) so as not to offend anybody. Not to offend the trustees. Not to offend some colleague. Not to offend the administration. Listening to the trustees (pause) they went after it (pause) tooth and nail. They were literally calling other colleagues "stupid" and so on. They didn't beat around the bush like, you know, "With further information you will have the opportunity to see our point of view". It was, "what are you? Anybody can see this point! Are you stupid?" You know, point blank (pause). Not a single teacher said that. But one trustee said that to the other trustee. And this went on over and over and over again. And I think that that's

> the type of thing // the type of phenomena that you're interested in. Why not call a spade a spade (pause) instead of being very diplomatic and saying, "Well it looks like a shovel". (laughing) That's the way I see it anyway. Anyway that's just the story that I (pause) related about my experience at this (name).
>
> Synopsis of transcribed statement:
>
> On Trustees as Forthright
> a. I rather admired the trustees in that they called a spade a spade. Trustees are to the point. They do not beat around the bush like teachers do. Trustees and teachers live in entirely different worlds.
> b. Trustees were not afraid to go at it tooth and nail. One even said to another trustee, "What are you? Anybody can see that point! Are you stupid?".
> c. It was unreal to see two trustees go at it. It was, whammo! I think teachers should indulge in this sometimes.

After each interview the researcher transcribed and then edited the transcriptions into synopsis form. The synopsis of the particular interview was sent to the subjects for scrutiny. During the following interview the subjects were given an opportunity to alter points which they felt were misinterpreted. Following are examples of how this procedure worked. The first example shows a teacher agreeing with the researcher's interpretation. The first statement is from the synopsis. The second statement is the subject's comment about it. Note that besides agreeing with the synopsis statement the subject uses the synopsis statement as a catalyst to allow him to accentuate the point he was trying to make with another example.

> Synopsis statement:
>
> b. The main problem is that teachers are not consulted about changes which involve them. Another problem related to changes is that there are too many changes all at once. In the past two years we have had a curriculum change in 4 major areas: language arts, science, math, and social studies. This is too much for generalist elementary school teachers to do justice to.

While teachers are rarely asked to express their opinions beyond the school level, they are the first on the firing line when somebody decides things are not going well enough.

Subject's comment about the synopsis interpretation:

Well "b" is definitely important, the main problem is that teachers are not consulted about changes which involve them. (pause) The number of changes, ya (pause) that's good (pause, intercom message). The impact of teachers especially in things that they consider as having some (pause) effect on them (pause) very, very important (pause) as far as I'm concerned. This idea about teachers being on the firing line and they should // well they should be given the opportunity to express their point of view or whatever it is. The idea that teachers are scape-goats for politicians etcetera, I'm // I gotta tell you another story // Sorry about this (laughs). But I'm also on the (pause) negotiating committee of our (name) local that bargains salaries. And we went to talk to the school board representatives the other day. And (pause) it was unreal. The guy said "Look (pause) you will accept what we are giving you because you need P.R."

Following is another example of agreement expressed by a different teacher and about a different topic.

Synopsis statement:

On Joy
Being with children is a joy. Watching them, listening to them provides much satisfaction for me. For example:
i. Watching a child's personality come out as he paints a picture;
ii. As one child says something gentle to another child;
iii. When a child begins to read. Or, when he writes a story (even a two sentence story); and
iv. It's like watching your baby take his first step. It's just something you feel. It overwhelms you!

Subject's comment about the synopsis interpretation:

That's the thing I really liked. I loved the way you wrote (pause) up this (pause) "On Joy". I thought it said a lot. Right there. Well, I enjoyed reading that I must admit.

The same teacher continued agreeing with the same interview but in a less inspired manner. Note how this item acts as a catalyst.

Synopsis statement:

About Others
Those who are not exceptional have not reached an exceptional level. They have not become. Those who are not exceptional are often insecure and are threatened and fearful of exceptional people. Other teachers and even parents feel their status with children is threatened by exceptional teachers. Non-exceptional people tend to be closed and protective about what they know.

Subject's comment about the synopsis statement:

And I thought that (pause) this was sad but true. Because the world is full of // let's face it, everything else is (pause) being honest (pause) being honest and calling a spade a spade is hard for us sometimes. Admitting that you can't do something. That's a sign to me of (pause) growth. (pause) Cause if you can always do everything (pause) then where do you go? So being honest and saying (pause) even to another teacher "I can't do that very well." Or, "I'm having trouble with that", Or, "See I've had a difficulty handling that idea". To me that's such a valuable thing.

The fourth example of a subject's scrutiny of a synopsis interpretation shows disagreement. In this case the subject reacted to the choice of words regarding time devoted to teaching. This type of correction was typical of criticisms made by the subjects.

Synopsis statement:

On Juggling Expectations
b. I am doing more things now than I was when I started teaching. Then I had to devote all my time to teaching. Now I am able to participate in parental (home and community) duties.

Subject's comment about the synopsis interpretation:

Subject:
Could we change the "Then I had to devote all my time to teaching" to "then I could devote". Because this makes it sound as though I wouldn't have been able to teach

unless I had (pause) devoted all my time. Do you see what I mean? I think just that one word makes ...
Researcher:
That's 1b
Subject:
Yes. 1b
Researcher:
Okay, let me just read it out loud again, for me to catch the gist of it. (pause) Under "Juggling Expectations", "I am doing more things now then I was when I started teaching".
Subject:
Uh huh
Researcher:
"Then I could devote all my time to teaching. Now I'm able to participate in parental (home and community) duties" is that basically correct?
Subject:
That sounds better I think.

The headings used in the synopses were selected according to how well they represented a series of statements. Generally they were taken directly from the text or the researcher entered his own term which he hoped would best suit what the subject had meant. Examples of some of these headings were: On Juggling Expectations, On Accepting Help, On Accepting Criticism, On Teacher Diplomacy, My View of Good Parents, The Past Speaks, You Must Control Worry, Too Much To Think About as Stressful and Fatiguing, and so on. The researcher was particularly aware of the danger of trying to force statements under headings that were not appropriate. Therefore, being cognizant of this tendency, the author purposely chose headings that were simple and explicit enough to fit only statements that were connected around one situation being described by the subject. In this way forcing generalizations in a premature manner was less of a problem. Only later on, when substantial data had appeared, was the researcher able to more freely group statements under one heading. This type of grouping will be shown in later analyses. For a detailed view of the synopses format, see the samples in Appendix 5.

Inferential Analysis

When the literal analysis was well underway, it was possible to turn to a more inferential analysis, commenting on more abstract concepts than before. After the data from the first two interviews were collected, a first profile on each subject was constructed by the researcher. As a follow-up, a second profile was constructed after the third interviews. The object of writing these profiles was primarily to provide comments about the present perspective of each of the subjects, whereas the synopses provided information as much about the past as the present. As well, the profiles were constructed for the reason of building toward a final contextual statement which not only offered accounts of critical experiences the subjects had had but would also add context to those statements. The headings under which the profile statements were arranged tended to reflect these objectives. There were basically three types of headings. The first involved biographical information. Headings such as Background and Family were used here. The second type of headings referred to personality traits and social concerns of the subjects such as: Perfectionism, Prestige, Confidence, Autonomy, Model and Ties, Aspirations, Authenticity, Sincerity, Caring, and so on. The third type of headings related more specifically to the subjects' perceptions of conflicting expectations and the level of skill the subjects felt they had at managing those conflicts. Examples of such headings are: Classroom Management, Conflict Management, Peers, Parents, Students, Curriculum, and so on.

In order to construct the profiles it was not necessary for new data to emerge. Rather, a continuation of concrete descriptive data was needed. However, for these data to be analyzed in a more abstract manner it was necessary to look at the data differently than before. For instance, the researcher had to look less to explicit meanings and more to the possible existence of broader more general meanings. To do this the researcher had to move from dealing with what the subjects were saying in each situation to what the subjects were saying over time, why they might be expressing the views that they were, and how they were expressing their views. An example of this new focus is that one teacher regularly used expressions of apology, denoting humility, when referring to her own capabilities as a teacher.

> I must make plain that I'm really a poor choice to ask for (pause) for teaching expertise because (pause) sometimes I look around and I think (pause) "Oh my goodness how long is it going to take me to learn how to do things effectively?"

She was equally apologetic about what she felt to be a tendency on her part to be too egocentric.

> I think it is true though. I am one of those "I" people. (laughs) And I wish // I wish I weren't. I made the other comment that "I was astounded that this came from me."

Such turns of phrase played an important part in the researcher's constructing of this teacher's profile and, of course, in understanding her present perspective regarding role expectation management. For instance, through such analysis it could be detected that this particular subject would not normally blame other colleagues for a conflict of expectations. Evidence of this is given as she responds to a question about whether or not the principal could have helped her promote a teaching idea to the teaching staff.

> Probably instead of putting the blame on the administrator then (pause) I should have used // come up with other strategies and say "Alright what can I do to (pause) counteract this". And so probably that would be what // Or (pause) But looking at it now I think that I should have perhaps come up with new ways to approach it that would have interested people.

Finally, as with the interview synopses, the subjects were encouraged to criticize the content of the profiles. To encourage such criticism, the researcher referred to the subjects in the third person singular in the profiles, whereas the synopses were written in the first person singular. Writing the profile in such a way, it was hoped, would accentuate the fact that the researcher's writing was inferential, possibly containing errors.

The subjects were given an opportunity to address the profiles during the next following interview. Interestingly, while the subjects were rather explicit about corrections to the synopsis material, they were not particularly critical about the profile material. There might be two reasons for this. First, the nature of many of the comments were more psycho-analytical than the synopses. Whereas the synopses contained concrete information that was either right or wrong to the subjects, the more implicit material of the profiles could have been more difficult for the subjects to agree or disagree with. Second, the researcher had spent a considerable length of time with the subjects during interviews and later in pondering their transcripts and synopses. Because of this point it would be no surprise to find that the researcher was beginning to get closer to making statements about the subjects and their perspectives that were acceptable to them. For more information about the profile format see sample material included in Appendix 6.

Contextual Analysis

The earlier analysis forms tended to break down and reorganize data into terms of the phenomenon of role expectation management. But the material produced by these analyses, while being substantial, was largely disjunctive, showing little interrelationship between the parts. Therefore, it was necessary to try to reorganize this information to contextualize the data at the same time as select what had proven to be the most pertinent information about the phenomenon of interest offered by the subjects to date. This analysis was a step beyond and yet totally dependent on the data gained from the literal analysis of the synopses and the inferential analysis as provided from the first and second profiles. The presentation of these data was in the form of case reports. The first case report was given to the subjects after the fourth interviews. While dependent on the earlier analysis forms, the format of the case reports was presented in a different fashion. A discussion of this difference follows.

First, the case reports were written more in prose form, whereas the synopses and the profiles had been presented in point form. The case reports adhered to a three part format. The first part of each case report included an introduction of the subject, attempting to provide biographical details pertinent to understanding the phenomenon of role expectation management. Information for this section came largely from data that had been gathered in the profiles. The second part was designed to show how the subjects had been faced with conflicting expectations in the past which continue to be viewed as critical experiences to them. Statements about these critical experiences were made available largely through the concrete analysis of the synopses. The third part was designed to provide a view of the subjects' present perspective related to their position on role expectation management. While making no attempt to show direct relationships to each of the previous critical experiences, the researcher attempted to make more general statements about the subjects' views subsequent to their having gone through experiences such as those described in the second section. This part drew heavily on the inferential analysis of the profiles for information.

The first case reports were extremely lengthy. Because the researcher was hesitant to eliminate what might later prove to be important data, the first case reports were largely untapered. Therefore, the subjects were offered the case reports, not only for confirmation or denial, but for editing advice. To assist the subjects to scrutinize and edit, the researcher provided them with a three point scale. As the subjects read through this first case report they were asked to mark "A" for any statements that were highly relevant, "B" for moderately relevant statements, and "C" for irrelevant statements. However, this tool was unnecessary. No comments received a "C" and few received a "B". As an example of this, in one instance a subject chose, rather than using "A", "B", or "C", to use "A" and "AA". The latter sign was to designate "extremely relevant" statements. Similarly the statements of the first case reports tended to be highly relevant to all subjects. As far as the editing process was concerned, as with the profiles, the subjects no longer seemed to question content. Interestingly, the majority of the comments related to concrete statements related to their own biographies and to spelling and grammatical errors made by the researcher.

The researcher had before him a mass of data generally related to teacher role expectation management. Yet, a lot of data remained unnecessarily repetitive. Therefore, the researcher turned to the second writing of the case reports. The second case reports were written with the same basic format as the first. The introductions were largely the same, although some information was deleted that might endanger the identity of the subjects. The second part was reorganized under headings which were standardized among the four subjects. This was done for two reasons. The first reason was because it was felt that standardizing headings would put the data in a more presentable format for the reader. The second reason was because it had been noted by the researcher that critical situations as related by the subjects each seemed to emanate from a limited number of sources. Upon further analysis it was found that these situations seemed to be seen by the subjects as having an embodied form, meaning that each conflict was seen to be caused by another person or persons. For these two reasons the researcher sought out these embodied forms as focal points of discussion. It was found that there were seven such focal points. In returning to the term used in the introduction and literature review of this document the researcher decided to name them "key interactors". As the conflicts with these interactors involved their expectations of teachers, the headings were generally as follows: Personal Expectations, Student Expectations, Expectations of Other Teachers, Parent Expectations, Expectations of School Administrators, Specialist Expectations, Expectations of Local Board and Provincial Government Officials.

As before, the third part of the case report attempted to deal, in a general fashion, with the present perspective that the subjects had come to regarding role expectation management. The claim, once again, was not that this perspective was due entirely to the few critical situations described in the previous section. Rather, the claim was that the subjects had come to such a perspective because of their meeting critical situations like the ones described. Once again the subjects were given an opportunity to react to this new case report. However, as the school year was near an end the subjects preferred to discuss this case report by telephone. At this point there were relatively minor changes to be made to the second case report. For further information regarding contextual analysis and the case reports see Appendix 7.

Comparative Analysis

The data by this time had been analyzed at great length to see that it could be reported in a way that would show the unique and idiosyncratic elements about each subject. Now it was time to turn to a broader comparison of the data. The objective at this stage of analysis was to group data made available from studying each individual subject. The researcher used the key interactors as a guide to organize this data because the interactors were common elements found in the role expectation management by all subjects. As well, the researcher was mindful of the past-to-present development of perspective that had become evident in collecting and organizing the data previously. As the researcher became aware of this development he also became aware of certain topics emerging at the same time. These topics it seemed were a restatement of the study purposes. Yet the topics were stated in such a way as to allow the researcher to more directly and practically address the study purposes permitted. For that reason these topics were used as major headings for the comparative analysis. The topics are as follows.

1. Evidence of a cyclic pattern that occurs each time the subjects are involved in managing conflicting expectations of role

2. How the subjects perceive conflicting role expectations over time

3. How the subjects perceive their attempts to manage conflicting role expectations over time

4. How the experiences of role conflict management have affected the subjects

5. Evidence of a weighing mechanism that the subjects have come to use to balance various expectations of their role

The comparative analysis did not call for collaboration with the subjects. The reason for ending this form of collaboration at this point, of course, was to remain faithful to the promise of not discussing precise conditions of the subjects with each other. Further, their commitment had been to construct a picture of their own perspectives. That had largely been done. However, peer consultations continued, as they had during the previous analyses. Therefore, this aspect of collaboration continued on during the comparative analysis. Finally, while readings from education, psychology, and sociology were not set aside during any part of the study, the researcher recognizes that readings in such areas had an affect on this form of analysis in particular.

The four analysis steps were an outgrowth of the type and amount of data made available through the interviews. The progression of these analyses generally moved from concrete to abstract interpretations of individual and group-related data.

In returning to the analogy presented at the beginning of this discussion, a blueprint was not available for the researcher to follow in analyzing the data of this study. Guided only by a general study purpose and an urge to explore this purpose the researcher had to seek his own blueprint; one that could be described only after all data had been collected and the analysis itself had been virtually completed as well. The four steps which have been described form that blueprint.

Presentation of the Data

As with the data gathering and the analysis, the format for presentation was not preconceived. Rather, it evolved throughout the study. After some deliberation it was decided that this material would be best presented by first addressing each subject separately. This was done to preserve the unique and often idiosyncratic elements in each subject's story. The emic data taken during each interview, like any set of transcripts, were lengthy and cumbersome to read. However, seen as an important aspect of the study they were recorded, with selections appearing in Appendix 3. Copies of the complete body of transcripts are available upon request made to the researcher.

Thus it was necessary to summarize the emic data mentioned above for each individual. Such a summary was organized by the researcher but, as pointed out earlier, it required regular checkbacks with the subjects to be sure that the researcher had been able to write an interpretation that was agreeable with the subjects themselves. It was decided that these individual case reports would follow a standard format similar to the one presented to the subjects. Therefore, the same three-part format was used, as described in the previous discussion. First, a short introduction was presented to provide important biographical details about the subjects. Second, a series of vignettes were constructed to represent what the subjects reported to be conflicts that they had experienced from their past and which they felt have had a major impact on their teacher role. The same key interactors were used as focal points for these vignettes that were in the second case study. Third, the case reports closed with a discussion of the subjects' present perspectives related to aspects of teacher role expectation management. The attempt of this closing statement was to show that the present perspective has been influenced by critical conflicts over the years like those reported in the vignettes. Each case report was presented as a complete chapter in itself. These four chapters make up the body of Section 2 of the thesis.

The research data were then presented in a broader form in Section 3. Whereas the case reports depended on earlier analysis forms, this section drew from the comparative analysis, described earlier. At this point the data were reorganized, returning to the notion of teacher role management cycle described in Chapter III of the thesis. In doing so, it became possible to compare the development and outcome of all the subjects subsequent to their being involved in this cycle. Further, it was also possible to discuss the four subjects together in terms of a weighing mechanism which was found to exist within that cycle.

The presentation of the data raises several questions. A discussion of these follows:

1. What assurance has the reader that all the key interactors were selected and discussed? All four subjects showed an awareness of the same interactors. This was undoubtedly because there are a limited number of interactors related to teacher role negotiation. However, as alluded to earlier, there was evidence to show that the expectations of these key people were perceived differently by each of the subjects. Such evidence will be provided in the case reports.

2. What assurance does the reader have that the researcher showed the most critical conflicts regarding role negotiation? As well, how does the reader know if important details have not been omitted from the vignettes? The researcher does not claim to have reported about all the conflicts. The claim, rather, is to have reported about such critical situations to give an indication of the type of conflicting expectations that the subjects have faced. The interest of the researcher has been to trace the development of a management style or technique. Therefore, being able to collect examples, rather than commenting on all situations, has been the aim. The interviews were conducted a month apart, with subjects being encouraged to keep personal journals to enhance the prospects of collecting important details related to the vignettes. Further, material was presented time and again to the subjects giving them the opportunity to add such

details to the researcher's interpretation. It should be recognized that an important aim of each interview session and each subsequent written interpretation was to gain a sense of agreement between the researcher and the subjects. Related to this point, another aim of the interviews was to continuously search out new details related to the phenomenon being studied. Nevertheless, rather than saying all pertinent details emerged, the researcher suggests that a number of major details have had an opportunity to emerge and, because of the negotiation process, these in all likelihood have been shown.

3. Were negated conflicts not important? Yes, but the first intent of this thesis was to investigate extreme conflicts and their concomitant responses. After showing these conflicts, greater clarity was given to lesser and even negated conflicts. Some of these are discussed later in the thesis, when data are compared between individuals.

4. Was anonymity of the subjects not endangered by reporting in individual format? It is true that case format could have made the subjects more recognizable. Because the study dealt with conflict there was the possibility of exposing some subjects with damning evidence, leaving them in a position of vulnerability. Yet the data called for fair representation, the case approach being deemed the best way to do this. Thus the problem became one of protecting the subjects at the same time as reporting the data in an open honest way. In order to facilitate these two

interests, the researcher had to take pains to present a picture of the subjects without endangering their identity. One of the measures taken was to see that each subject was given a pseudonym. In no instances were the real names of the subjects or their associates given in the thesis document. In cases where meanings were not altered, names of places and dates were changed. Finally, some special information seen by two of the subjects to be of a particularly sensitive nature was omitted entirely from the main study as well as from the appendices. These protective measures were taken in accordance to the agreement about anonymity made between the researcher and subjects before the study began.

5. Is it possible that the information reported tends to be glazed over by fond memories of the past and false optimism about the future? There is some reason to believe that this can happen. For instance, in retrospect it is often more pleasant to tell about one's good times, how one has successfully handled a number of situations in the past, and about how bright the future is because of these things. However, it is also true that, given the interview atmosphere described earlier, the subjects should be willing and able to report about a broad realm of things. Their security and respectability should not be in question. Therefore, they have little to lose in telling about their bad times as well as their good times; nor do they have anything to lose in telling about their failures as well as their successes. From such reports the subjects and the

researcher, together, can discuss in a relatively impartial way the subjects' development and outlook toward the future.

6. If the data are presented in final analysis by first looking at similarities between subjects, is this a comment that differences are unimportant? No. Although, the primary aim in describing a phenomenon in question is to first look to commonalities to recognize patterns in the data (Bronowski, 1977). Thus looking to similarities is seen as the starting point in discussing the data. However, from that point many differences may be apparent. For this reason the case reports are presented in detail to provide a view of the idiosyncratic details of each individual. As well, during the presentation of the comparative analysis in Chapter IX differences will be discussed. Such discussions, nevertheless, will be shown as variances from the similarities presented.

Trustworthiness of the Research Methods

In order that the findings of this study be viewed as trustworthy certain relevant points need to be reviewed, despite a tendency to be repetitive in some instances. Guba (1981) suggests that validity regarding "naturalistic research" such as presented in this study needs to be viewed in a different light from that of the predominantly quantitative-experimental designs. To start, he suggests a change be made in terminology. Internal validity and objectivity are better described as credibility; reliability as dependability; and external validity and generalizability as transferability. An adaptation of these three tests of trustworthiness follows with suggestions for application to this study.

Credibility

How can the researcher establish confidence that the subjects' views have emerged? How can the researcher be sure that these views are not purely his own? Guba suggests that these steps be taken.

1. Member checks. Member checks refers to the testing of data by checking with the subjects for agreement. This was done throughout the interview schedule as well as after the interviews had terminated. Evidence of member checks has been shown previously. Member checks were an integral part of the interview format. As well, the synopses, profiles, and case reports were all shown to be based on a strict adherence to collaboration between the researcher and the subjects.

2. Prolonged study. It was felt that retrospective accounts needed time to emerge. Therefore, conversants were given exposure to the topic of the study through a series of lengthy in-depth interviews. The researcher spent a minimum of one hour on six separate occasions with each of the subjects. The first of these meetings was part of the recruitment phase of the study. The subsequent five meetings were part of the formal study itself. Each of these interviews were taped. As well, a period of one month was allowed to elapse between each interview. This interim period was engineered to provide the opportunity for

new information to unfold. The subjects were initially asked to record retrospective accounts in journals. This plan was useful for two of the four subjects. It was found that the other two subjects were able to report past experiences without the journals. Whether they chose to use a journal or not, all subjects agreed that this interim period did allow topics to be remembered. The researcher, in the meanwhile, used these interim periods to transcribe tapes, write-up the synopses, and later develop the profiles and case studies. The one month interim period was essential as a practical consideration to preparing these materials, sending them out, and preparing for the next set of interviews.

3. Peer debriefing. Further collaboration between the researcher and his colleagues proved to be helpful in analyzing data and introducing new questions. In a sense, Guba suggests, this aspect of trustworthiness of the researcher's procedures is like exposing his thinking to a "jury". Having to answer to his peers provided an on-going cross-examination, offering direction, confirmation and, in some cases, alternative directions for the researcher to pursue. The researcher called on the three members of his supervisory committee and his wife-typist for this type of interaction.

4. Collection of referential adequacy materials. Audio tapes, transcriptions, synopses, profiles, and case reports stood to verify the researcher's written interpretations. Testing analyses and interpretations of these materials was an on-going

process throughout the study. Such a credibility test, of course, was done by making these materials available to the subjects themselves and aspects of them available to the researcher's peers.

5. Structural coherence. Because of the alteration of the emic data through the synopses, profiles, and case reports, it was important to test every datum and interpretation throughout the research against other data to assure that there was no internal conflict. To see if internal conflicts existed between data the subjects were given the opportunity during each interview to explain them. In the meanwhile the data fell under the continuous scrutiny of the researcher as he altered it to fit a reportable format. His efforts to alter the data were based on structural coherence from one interview to the next.

6. Researcher experience. The researcher piloted the study, testing his instrumental ability by arranging for experiences prior to the major work, thus testing his skills of interviewing and analyzing. Yet, being relatively inexperienced in using such a research method the researcher found that even after the pilot study he was not the expert he had hoped to be. Not until the study was over did he begin to feel a comfortable level of confidence. However, as the teachers were being studied for the first time, this inexperience also acted to the researcher's advantage. The subjects seemed to sense that the research was a pioneering effort. Because of this, they seemed all the more committed to making a personal contribution themselves.

Transferability

How can the researcher determine that the findings of the study might have application in other contexts or with other subjects?

While no context could ever be repeated in the same way, certain patterns can emerge from exploratory studies such as this. The aim has been to establish what Chin and Downey (1973) call "middle range theories". This implies that there be some tentativeness in terms of suggesting gross generalizations across many situations. However, middle range patterns can stand as a loose set of parameters of teacher thought and behavior.

Guba (1981) suggests that naturalistic studies such as this study must provide a richness of data whereby comparisons of context could be made with other contexts to which transfer might be comtemplated. The presentation of data in such a way, he adds, calls the readers of the research to be the final judges of conditions of transferability based on a "degree of fit". Therefore, besides presenting much of the original data in the main body of the thesis, much of the data has been included in the appendices of the study. As well, the full body of transcripts and other supportive material is available for review.

Dependability

Would it be possible to consistently repeat the findings of this study if the subjects and the situation were the same?

First of all, it is impossible to find the same situation.

Secondly, the subjects' perspectives have been changed anew by the research. Such change is the case of all research that directly involves its subjects. Thirdly, no two researchers are the same. Therefore, in a study where researcher participation is so vital it is important that certain measures are taken to assure the work is done in a dependable and scholarly fashion.

For other researchers interested in checking the data against their own background or interested in doing similar studies, Guba suggests, once again, a clear "audit trail" be left by the original researcher. Therefore, supplementing the thesis document by audio tapes of all conversations, full transcriptions of those tapes, synopses of those transcriptions, teacher profiles, teacher case studies, as well as a set of journals kept by the researcher have been preserved. In this way a step-by-step account of the original research was recorded.

Limitations of the Research Methods

Despite there being some repetition with the preceding discussion, the topic of limitations is seen to require special attention. The following points are offered as possible limitations to the trustworthiness of this study.

1. Sampling. The sample size was kept small in order to allow in-depth study. However, because of this small sample size there was less chance to establish a sampling body which might better represent the teachers in general.

The opportunistic sampling style was somewhat crude. While it was used because of practical and ethical reasons stated previously, it did not necessarily ensure the best subject selection in terms of abilities or representativeness. There was the possibility, for example, that teachers might be typified because they were selected according to their willingness to share their views. Such a willingness, of course, might not be representative of the majority of teachers. Therefore, because the sampling was opportunistic no claims have been made about the results representing all teachers in general.

2. Conformity. There was a danger that the researcher's presence would affect the teachers in such a way that they would try to conform to what they thought the researcher wanted them to say. This needed attention as a recruitment criterion. Further, it was a point that required nurturing in the earlier interviews, with the researcher reminding the subjects that the success of the study depended on their ability to disclose their own views.

3. Disclosure. Goffman (1967) and Murphy (1966), in discussing the topic of face-to-face interaction, suggest that individuals can never totally disclose themselves to another person. People maintain a protective veneer around themselves. Some of this protectionism is conscious, some is not. In any event, the researcher recognized this aspect of human nature, accepting that what was disclosed to him by the subjects was

qualified according to what the subjects felt was memorable in the first place, pertinent to the discussion, and ultimately safe to their own well-being.

4. Focusing. Great attention was given to the development of catalysts to provide flexibility to explore teacher role expectation management. This was done in lieu of establishing preconceived questions to guide the study and the separate interview sessions. While such flexibility was shown to be necessary, it did not always lend itself well to intensifying focus to direct the talk. The subjects and researcher all sensed frustration periodically in being free to move into many directions of conversation, but often wondering if the talk was on track. Further, there often seemed too much to say. The "sorrow of language", as Merleau-Ponty (1964) calls it, is that people cannot say everything they wish to. Only a few thoughts can emerge to the speaker's satisfaction over a short time. Often ideas are pushed back, forgotten in order to focus on the one that is at hand. This selection is done with little assurance that pursuit of the one being addressed will necessarily be expressed satisfactorily. However, as this is a limitation, it is a natural one and one which has to be considered as a normal human function.

5. Interpretation. Defining perspective, it has been shown, is a difficult business. Of course, this difficulty is because perspective changes due to new experiences gained by the subjects. At the same time the subjects are continuously trying

to know themselves and their views. Knowing oneself in itself is difficult. But, as one becomes distanced from the originally perceived situation the intended meanings tend to be altered. Figure 8, The Interpretive Gap (Part C), is an extension of Figure 6, The Interpretive Gap (Part A), and Figure 7, The Interpretive Gap (Part B). Briefly, it shows the originally perceived situation translated by the teachers. In turn, these recollections are negotiated between the teachers and the researcher. The researcher, in turn, translates these meanings into the form of a document. Finally, the document stands as a message regarding these meanings to the reader. Through this process the chance of spoiling the original intent is large. Because of the intense interaction of the researcher with the subjects the outcome becomes a joint interpretation, no longer representing the views of the subjects alone. Therefore, this could be seen as a limitation of the method of the study.

6. Data selection. While the raw emic views have been expressed in the transcripts this mass of printed material could not all be presented in the thesis. Therefore, it had to be edited by locating and including statements that were particularly pertinent to the development of role expectation management. This editing was done through a long process of negotiation. However, given what has been said thus far about the difficulties of knowing one's own view, disclosing it, and having it interpreted, it seems unlikely that the best and most relevant information will have been gleaned in all instances. Rather, it would be

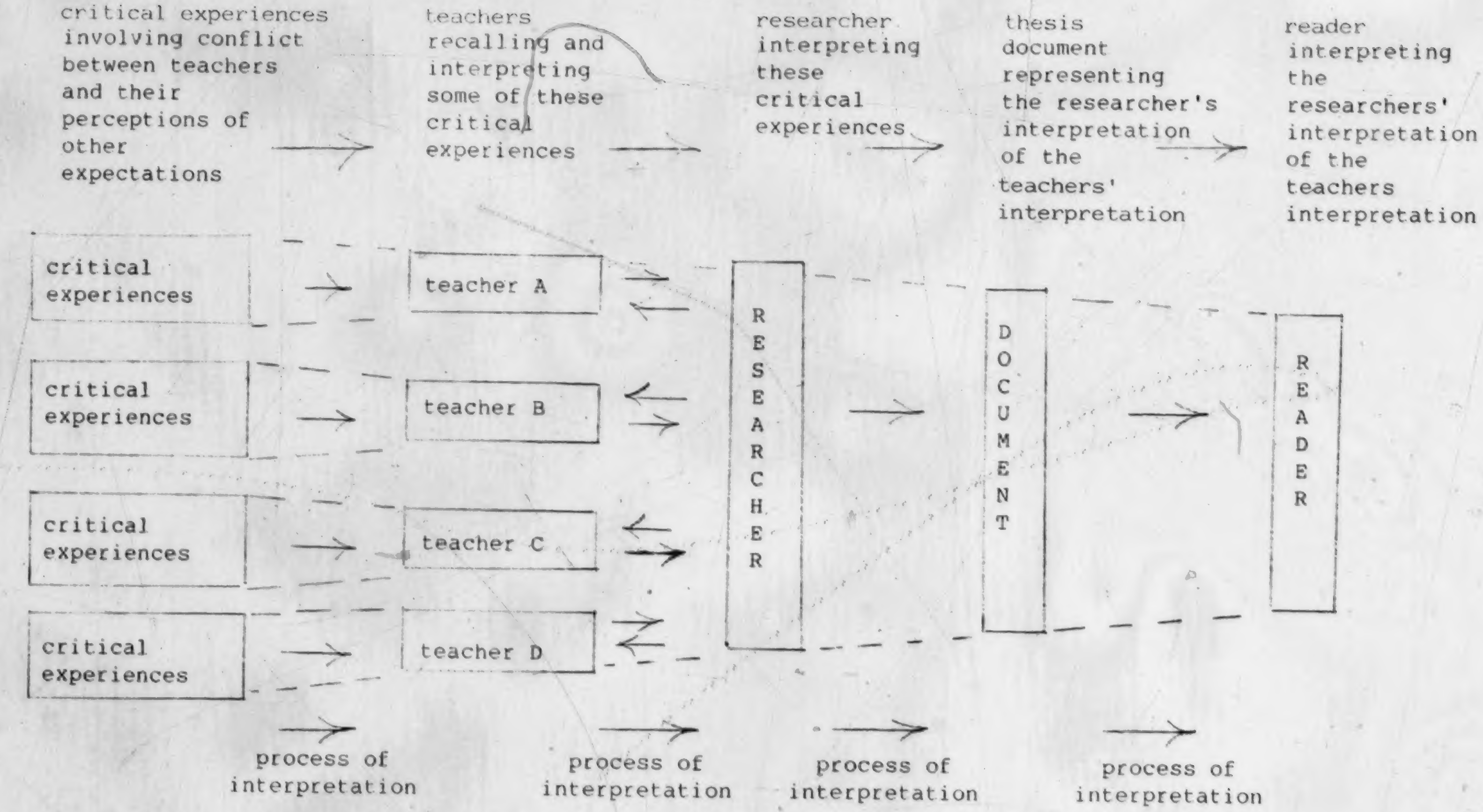
critical experiences involving conflict between teachers and their perceptions of other expectations
teachers recalling and interpreting some of these critical experiences
researcher interpreting these critical experiences
thesis document representing the researcher's interpretation of the teachers' interpretation
reader interpreting the researchers' interpretation of the teachers interpretation
critical experiences
critical experiences
critical experiences
critical experiences
teacher A
teacher B
teacher C
teacher D
RESEARCHER
DOCUMENT
READER
process of interpretation
process of interpretation
process of interpretation
process of interpretation

Figure 8. The Interpretive Gap (Part C).

This figure is an extension of Figures 5 and 6 showing the conceptual distance between the teachers' recollection of certain critical incidents and the interpretations by the researcher, the written document and the readers. Note: This was developed by the author on the basis of discussions with Dr. David Young, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, December, 1982.

more reasonable to consider the selection of the data to represent one of several plausible and relevant collections of statements about the subjects' perspectives regarding the phenomenon of study.

7. Closure. Documenting the development of a person's perspective presents the question of when to end the study. But the real problem with closure is that the moment it is exercised the study, in a sense, becomes outdated. The subjects will continue to change. In years to come they might look on aspects of the interpretation found in this document as a curiosity, with the information reported no longer part of them. Therefore, it should be recognized that this document reports a human development that no longer exists specifically as it has been presented.

Ethical Considerations

Certain ethical concerns have been mentioned in an incidental fashion thus far. But, due to the extreme importance of this area, a special section has been devoted to it. Spradley (1979) points out that when social researchers ask people to disclose information about themselves and others in the name of science they are also entrusted with some important responsibilities. Some of those responsibilities are listed below.

1. Privacy for the subjects and others. Even when subjects claimed privacy was of little consequence, the researcher felt he owed it to them, their colleagues, and others to eliminate true identities from the published document. In this study

pseudonyms have been used to represent all individuals who were mentioned. Further, where information reported might have been traced to someone to their detriment despite using pseudonyms, such material was edited and in some cases eliminated entirely.

2. The research as an agent of change. Because of their intense involvement with the research project, the perspectives of both the researcher and the subjects were altered. For the most part these changes were learning experiences, welcomed by both parties. These usually took the form of learning to express what had been previously tacitly known or thought to be forgotten. However, the researcher also had to be aware that certain topics might have been considered as upsetting and/or harmful to the subjects. As it was, three situations arose directly that the researcher might have pursued but were clearly painful memories and/or of a highly personal nature to the subjects. Anticipating such occasions, the researcher decided in advance to stay clear of such topics. With the agreement of the subjects it was decided that if a topic was still highly relevant, despite the discomfort it caused, the interview might turn back to it, but from a different direction and at a different time.

3. Exit agreement. During the recruitment phase it was agreed between the subjects and the researcher that the final thesis document would be made available to the subjects. Considering the collaboration method used in the study such an agreement seemed appropriate. All four subjects showed an extreme interest in seeing the final document.

4. Support of teachers and the pedagogical act. It has been the intent of this study to support teachers by better understanding their perceived expectations of the teacher role. In this way it has been assumed the study will contribute to pedagogy in general. But if the information of this study is used in a superficial way, without considering the contexts reported in this document, the results could be destructive. Ironically, while the study, in part, has set out to redefine the concept of teacher support it may only contribute as a hindrance if misinterpreted. Therefore, the researcher appeals to the user of this information to delve into the complexity of the phenomenon where teachers respond collectively to expectations of their role, taking care not to superimpose solutions to problems which may have foreign contexts to the ones reported herein.

This chapter has provided a description of the methods used to gather, analyze, and present the research data. In doing so, Section 1 is concluded. The stage has been set for the data to be reported in the following section.

SECTION 2

CASE REPORTS

This section is composed of four chapters. Each chapter presents a separate case report, one for each of the subjects. These case reports reflect a progression through the analytical steps described in Section 1. All four steps were used in analyzing and presenting information in this section to enhance understanding about each separate subject. These case reports play an important part in progressing towards a broader comparative analysis of all the subjects which is discussed in Section 3.

The actual format of the case reports was an outgrowth of the negotiating of meanings between the subjects and the researcher over the period of the five formal interviews. As has been discussed, the negotiation both freed and focused the direction of exploration, progressing from rather open to more specific topics. Efforts were also made by the researcher to preserve what the subjects considered to be highly relevant issues, at the same time that less relevant ones were eliminated. To check this, written synopses and profiles were provided to the subjects.

While the content of each report was quite different, there were certain similarities apparent among all subjects. Some of these similarities were so marked that it became virtually impossible to exclude them from consideration until Section 3, as had been earlier planned. In trying to preserve the uniqueness of each subject's report, as well as to facilitate certain basic similarities in order to later enhance the process of comparison, the researcher was faced with a dilemma. For a time it appeared that trying to do these two things at the same time was not possible. However, a solution later appeared. The solution involved adapting a similar format which would be somewhat standard for each report but would not call for conformity of the content of material within that format. At the same time, of course, it was vital that such a format would meet with the approval of each subject. After a number of revisions, as discussed in Chapter IV and shown in the Appendices, such an approval was gained. A three-part format was chosen and agreed upon. It would include an introduction, a description of the critical conflicts, and a discussion of the data presented. An explanation of these three parts follows.

1. Introduction. Initially this part was to have provided biographical details to set the stage before each subject's critical conflicts were discussed. But it was found, as a result of the original drafts, that some details had been described too vividly, leaving the subjects feeling rather uncomfortable. Therefore, to preserve the privacy of the subjects and their colleagues, as well as to eliminate needless repetition in some cases, the researcher, together with the subjects, decided that it would be best to eliminate much of the biographical background that had been presented to date. However, the decision to eliminate some material did not mean entirely eliminating the original intent of the Introduction. Biographical details could still be given in a simplified format. First, the subjects agreed that the

Introduction could include details about their ages, schools, and grade level experiences. As well, a brief description of the subjects' teacher-training and perhaps certain of their teaching preferences could also be discussed. Second, rather than dwell on an undue number of details from the past, it was felt that the researcher might be able to best spend his time and efforts leading the reader towards the body of the case reports by sharing his early impressions of the subjects. This could be done by describing his first meeting with each subject. In presenting the Introduction in this way, the researcher would allow the reader to share in some of his first impressions of the subjects.

2. Vignettes of conflict. Several vignettes are presented under this heading. They are each meant to represent a progression from the past to present. As well, each vignette describes a subject's confrontation with what he/she considered to be a conflicting expectation which had and might continue to have an important influence on his/her present perspective. It is important to emphasize that these conflicts are examples, not the only relevant conflicts to have occurred in the lives of the subjects. The conflicts will, in all likelihood, have altered over time with each individual. Also, the conflicts described in the vignettes are not necessarily meant to be considered of equal importance from one subject to the next. Further, it is not the intention of the researcher to show that each conflict is of equal intensity within the scope of one subject's story.

Each vignette initially focuses on an interactor seen by a subject to be a key person in a particular conflict. Such interactors were considered by the subjects to be the main cause of the conflicts reported. These same people were found to be consistent interactors with all subjects. Yet, the details about the conflicts varied. The initial intention was to focus first on the key interactors who are in close proximity to the subjects, followed by associations progressively more distant. However, in some situations the researcher may have altered this pattern slightly to allow events to be reported more clearly than would otherwise have been the case. Following are the interactors in the order they will generally appear.

a. Personal. Conflict with personal interactors involves self and family interests.

b. Students. Conflict with student interactors involves conflict with the subjects' efforts to work with students.

c. Other teachers. Conflict with teacher inteactors involves conflict between the subjects and their immediate peers.

d. Parents. Conflict with parent interactors involves a conflict with the subjects' efforts to deal with parents regarding the welfare of the students.

e. School administrators. Conflict with school administrators involves interactions with the principals and/or vice principals of the subjects' schools.

f. Specialists. Conflict with specialists involves consultants and other personnel who work directly with teachers in various fashions.

g. Board and government officials. Conflict with board and government officials involves all elected and appointed administrative local board and provincial government members and what teachers perceive to be the decisions of such members.

It is important to note that the researcher probed for additional interactors. However, those considered to be important to the four subjects fell under the above headings. Therefore, additional headings were unnecessary.

Each vignette is followed by a table which attempts to capture the highlights of the subjects' perspectives from a past time frame to the present. These tables are presented in five columns. The first column deals with what the subjects' perceive to be expectations which are conflicting. The second column describes the subjects' initial responses after first perceiving a situation of conflict. The third column shows the subjects' chosen management responses. The fourth column deals with the subjects' evaluation of the success of their actions. The fifth column deals with aspects of the subjects' perspectives which have altered due to their having experienced conflicts and also due to their attempts to manage those conflicts.

It is important to note that these tables closely adhere to the steps described in Figure 2. A Cyclic Model of Conflict Management. While the tables are shown in a linear fashion to emphasize content, they can be viewed in a circular fashion as in Figure 2. The similarities between the tables and Figure 2 will be discussed in Section 3. At that point it will be shown that this cycle offers much to the explanation of the structure and function of the weighing mechanism in question.

Because the Cyclic Model of Conflict Management is so prevalent throughout the thesis the question must be asked: Have the data used in this document been selected purely in terms of their suitability for supporting such a model? To answer the question: No, and there has been no attempt to select data on that basis. There was initially no selectivity at all. Early synopses were interpreted as literally as possible. In time there was an attempt to screen the data to eliminate needless repetition, but this was done strictly on the basis of direct feedback from the subjects. During the study the format of the Cyclic Model was borne out time and time again. This was presumably due to the simplicity of the Model's design, allowing adherence to the idiosyncratic elements reported yet offering a high degree of fit to each situation reported.

3. Discussion. The Discussion attempts to describe, in a more general fashion than in the vignettes, the development of the subjects' perspectives regarding role expectation management. While the vignettes do not represent the only conflicts experienced by the subjects, it was agreed between the subjects and the researcher that the vignettes do typify such experiences. Therefore, on that basis the Discussion will make broader statements about the development of the subjects' present awareness of conflicting role expectations and their initial and chosen responses to conflicting expectations. As well, statements will be made about other aspects of the subjects' future orientation

subsequent to their having had such experiences. Perspective will be looked at in this way by analyzing what the subjects generally agreed were three main areas of improvement over time: confidence, rewards, and responsibilities.

The case reports have been designed to capture the view of the subjects, showing the context within which each subject views conflict management. The overall objective is to show the structure and function of the subjects' growing ability to manage conflicting role expectations as well as to comment about the effect that the development of such a mechanism has had on the subjects and their role.

CHAPTER V

SARAH

Introduction

Sarah, in her mid fifties, has been teaching for over twenty years. She has taught each grade level possible in elementary school and is presently teaching grade one, her favourite level. Sarah's initial training was enough to meet the minimal requirements of the day for a teacher's certificate. She began her career in a rural situation, working there briefly before accepting a contract with a large city board. Sarah has taught with this same board for the majority of her career thus far. Later, with encouragement from her first two principals Sarah decided to return to university where she completed her degree. Upon her return to teaching she was given a position at her present school. This is the fourth school she has taught at since the beginning of her career.

When the researcher first met Sarah he was a faculty consultant. His assignment was to supervise a student-teacher working with Sarah. The researcher first spoke to Sarah by telephone to make arrangements for a meeting with Sarah and the student-teacher. Over the telephone he was immediately impressed by Sarah's cheerful voice and particularly by her positive approach to his proposed arrival. The researcher found Sarah's reception particularly outstanding because, from the researcher's experience, faculty consultants were often received in a rather cautious manner by classroom teachers.

Later, upon arriving at the school for the prearranged meeting, the researcher was met at the door by a pleasant white-haired lady, the principal, who personally led the researcher to Sarah's classroom. Outside of the door the principal called into the classroom that a visitor had arrived and a familiar cheerful voice called back, "We're down here! Send him in!". Upon entering, the researcher was immediately struck by the size of the classroom. It had evidently been two separate classrooms at one time. At the end of the room in which he had entered was a large carpeted area where there were the teacher's and students' desks as well as coat and boot racks. While this end of the room was colorfully decorated with a variety of figures holding or containing numbers or letters, the other end, the researcher felt, was even more intriguing. In that area were sandboxes, art easels, carpentry tools and large wooden blocks, cassette tape recorders and earphones, a number of extremely low-to-the-floor round tables and tiny chairs, bookshelves and portable chalk boards, not to mention a number of bulletin boards placed on the walls which proudly displayed (in a maze of color) recent art work done by the students.

Amidst all the decorative paraphernalia were three adults and two children who were busily rearranging materials for the next day's work. It was not difficult for this researcher to pick out Sarah from the group. Despite her tiny stature she, more than the others, moved quickly and with an air of certainty from one table to the next. She spoke continuously to the others, giving instructions to them.

Without stopping Sarah looked up and called out a cheerful welcome to the researcher, adding, "We'll be right there". At that point, Sarah turned to one adult who appeared to be a parent helper and spoke to her in a hushed voice. Then, more loudly she concluded, "Okay that's fine. Uh huh. Ya. Okay. Thanks then. Bye." With that the parent was gone. Sarah then turned to two more who were evidently older students from that school. She briefly thanked them and told them it was "time to scoot home". Lastly, again in a quiet voice, Sarah spoke to the fourth helper who was the student-teacher. The two conversed for a short time, apparently talking about the day's activities and perhaps about the next. Sarah had quickly, and as far as the researcher could see effectively, dispensed with the business at hand like a general, confident, sure, and decisive.

Of course, at this time the researcher had little way of knowing that over a year later this rather forceful little woman would become a center of attention for him as a subject of a yet unformulated study. The early impression, described above, not only caused the researcher to recruit Sarah as a subject but also, interestingly enough, remained as a consistent impression with his later perceptions over the year in which this study took place. Finally, along with certain traits alluded to earlier, Sarah's ability and willingness to disclose critical conflicting situations from her past and present made her a particularly effective subject for a study of this nature. As the following vignettes will show, Sarah was a willing partner in the negotiation of meaning between herself and the researcher. Probing for information with such a subject called for little more than the mere initiating of notions on the part of the researcher before being enthusiastically and capably spoken to by Sarah. With Sarah the notion of democratic conversation was well taken.

Vignettes of Conflict

Sarah, it was found, has not been without role-related conflicts in the past, nor is she entirely free from such conflicts presently. As the following vignettes will show, Sarah not only has her own individual perspective regarding conflicts, but experiencing such conflicts has led her to establish very much her own ways of dealing with role-related conflicts as a teacher. The following seven vignettes are stated in Sarah's terms. They are: Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload; Holding Students to a Satisfactory Effort; Managing Parental Criticism; A Lack of Conflict with Specialists; Maintaining Collegiality and Territoriality with Other Teachers; Dealing with Lack of Support by the Principal; and Overcoming Curriculum Rigidity.

Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload

This vignette describes a problem which Sarah faced from the outset of her career. As will be shown, however, the nature of this problem altered over time as her situation in life changed.

Sarah considered herself as having special talents as a teacher from the outset of her career. She felt, and continues to feel, that she has been divinely blessed with skills to be an exceptional teacher.

> I feel and have always felt God's presence within me. I feel like I have been chosen, a type of divine intervention to express special talents as a teacher. I feel I have been blessed as a teacher. I believe I am exceptional and that I have a gift as a teacher.

Sarah remembers that she "threw" herself into her work as a novice teacher. Teaching was everything to her. Working with her students was a labour of love. Yet Sarah's total immersion in her teaching was also closely associated with what became, as will be shown, a problem of self-overloading.

While Sarah's thoughts were preoccupied with school and her students, such a tendency could not continue. Sarah had other interests. She also aspired to marry and have a family. Therefore, when these interests became a reality they brought with them the additional role responsibilities of being a mother and wife. She remembers having had a difficult time trying to blend these two roles with her teaching role. Sarah had an early tendency to deal with her domestic duties in a fashion similar to the way she had been handling her school activities, intense and total. Such intensity of each role, she found, could not continue.

> When I was younger I used to get really frustrated when I didn't get all the things done that I had planned for the weekend, baking bread, knitting, etc. But I came to a new view, I don't have to be as perfect as I felt I needed to be. For example, before we had children I used to vaccuum everyday and clean the oven and cupboards. Everything had to be spotless.

The above frustration was magnified with the arrival of Sarah's first child. Choosing to continue her teaching after a short maternity leave, she recalls the anguish she went through when she left her child with a babysitter with whom she was not familiar.

> When I left my baby with one sitter about whom I was not confident, I went through much anguish. I didn't even know this was the cause. For this two month period I hated teaching, the only time of my career.

It was clear to Sarah that her difficulties stemmed from being pulled between home and school duties. Trying to comply with the expectations of both was taking its toll and would have to be altered, she felt. Fortunately, the passing of time offered a first solution. The babysitter proved to be competent; thus Sarah was less anxious about the child's welfare. Knowing that all was well at home she could turn her attention more completely to her work at school. Regarding her feeling that she tended to be unsatisfactorily meticulous about domestic duties, Sarah became aware that this problem called for rationalizing. Her following comment about her earlier tendency to be a "domestic perfectionist" bears this out.

> How ridiculous. There are more important things to do. You learn what these important things are. You learn to adapt.

Therefore, Sarah would forgive herself if the cupboards were not immaculate and if the floors were not vacuumed daily. But these duties still had to be done periodically, despite the fact that she was able to alter her view of what she was to respond to domestically. Therefore, Sarah established a set of procedural rules to assist her with her responsibilities. First, she would have to make better use of her time during all phases of the day. Whatever her responsibility at the time, she would have to attend to it quickly, efficiently, and completely. This would call for more self discipline. She began to realize that her earlier tendencies to indulge at length in concerns for others sometimes had to be limited, otherwise her results, she felt, would begin to diminish. Therefore she decided to "toughen-up" if she was to find her work rewarding. Second, during each evening certain basic domestic duties must be attended to such as washing, ironing, cooking, and so on. Third, special needs by family members could take precedence over these domestic necessities periodically. Fourth, when chores and family needs had been attended to, Sarah made sure that she found time for herself. Interestingly, no matter how short this time was, it offered her an escape from further adherence to the other priorities described.

> Usually I follow a very well-organized schedule. And I don't go off it very much until I am on my own time. Usually I do nothing when I am on my own time. And that's when I don't stay on schedule for anything. I'm so structured that that kind of helps me when I have to go back to a structure.

Sarah sees the above structure as a necessity to pursue the role responsibilities of teacher, mother, and wife. Such a conclusion comes not only from her own experiences but from what she feels her colleagues must do, as well.

> For myself and my colleagues, we all live pretty structured home lives. Washing, ironing, and baking have to be done before anything else. Each domestic duty has a time allotment.

Finally, Sarah has come to recognize that her husband has been a key contributor to her ability to deal satisfactorily with domestic responsibilities. In short, she states, he has eliminated pressures from home that other husbands often impose on their wives.

Rather than his being actively involved in her career, Sarah feels that her husband has always been passive and yet distantly supportive of her teaching. She sees him as being "almost placid" toward her work. But rather than that alone, she feels, this is his way of understanding her needs and thus encouraging her to pursue her own interests.

> He is not particularly interested in discussing my school work. However, he understands that it's important to me. Therefore, in a rather passive manner he supports my teaching. In a sense, he let's me be.

Sarah's expanded responsibilities have led her to become extremely efficient. She sees herself occupying three major roles, in two areas, a mother and wife at home and a teacher at school. She has made compromises at a domestic level to assure satisfaction there and at school. Acquiring this satisfaction has required an alteration of her domestic expectations, time to blend these various responsibilities, and a husband who recognizes her need to express herself as a teacher as well.

Now, for the above reasons as well as the fact that all but one of Sarah's children have moved away from the home, her domestic duties are less demanding. But, she admits, she is her own worst enemy. Rather than having more and more free time for out-of-school matters she finds that there is no increase in free time at all. The problem has become one where, during out-of-school time, she continually and seemingly involuntarily begins to think about school activities. Such an automatic shift is reflected in her following comment about teaching and learning ideas.

> I am always thinking about what I can do to improve my school situation, how I can help a student master a skill. I often shop for items which will make teaching more interesting and which will make learning more challenging. While outside of school my attention flashes into thinking about new ideas for school.

Regarding the above tendency the following comment shows that Sarah sometimes feels that she is on a merry-go-round.

> But that is where I'm getting a little bit frustrated with myself. The hurrier I go the behinder I get! I have so much that I want to do with them (students).

Sarah's drive to generate new teaching and learning ideas is unrelenting at times. For example, her classroom calls for continuous alteration. While she accepts that such a tendency is part of good teaching, she does recognize it as being fatiguing. Yet she sees that she is the cause of much of the blame herself.

> This room, in particular, is a heavy commitment. And I'm partly to blame because I'm not satisfied with leaving things the same. I should set them up and leave it. But I don't. I set them up and then I'm constantly finding something that I'm wanting to change. I can see five things now that have got to be different.

Much of the fatigue related to attending to her room, Sarah feels, is due to its becoming disorderly. The solution to this problem, of course, is to clean it up. But the passing of time has allowed her to give up some ownership, where she now looks to others for assistance, sharing the activities that were hers alone before.

> Sometimes I need an escape from this room when it's disorderly. And whether it is cleaned by students, another adult, or myself I am much relieved to have it neat and tidy again.

In the same way Sarah has learned to loosen her control over all aspects of program and thus interaction with her students. For example, whereas she once led group singing and accompanied the group at the same time, she now turns to outside help. The reason, as is shown below, is because she recognizes that to try to do all things at once wears heavily on her and provides less for her students. As her final comment implies, she was thankful, if not a little surprised, to find out how well things would turn out. The example provided involved Sarah preparing for a Christmas concert.

> I was concerned because I was accompanying the school for the Christmas concert. And I play the piano but I'm not an accompanist. I plunk away with the kids. And I got to the point where I thought I just don't want to do this. It's not going to be good for me, my kids, or the kids I'm working with. So I said I was going to pick up an accompanist. And I did. And you know, I just felt fine.

In closing it appears that Sarah is reasonably satisfied with her present workload. Further, she recognizes that she is the one that decides the extent of her involvement in the work that she does. Her main role responsibilities are of her own choice. Yet the pace she keeps presently is every bit as hectic as it was years previously, she claims. Her involvement with students, professional development, family activities, and church work bear witness to this. In reality she has as much reason today to complain vigorously of work overload as she had years before. But she does not. The seemingly hectic pace she presently keeps is quite acceptable to her. The fatigue and frustration she may have felt before are no longer evident. Her final two comments offer some explanation for this. Sarah feels good about having spent her day well.

> I am quite satisfied with my job as a teacher and with my general position in life at this point in time. I sleep well at night because I've spent my day fully.

There is little indication that Sarah really finds herself trapped by role responsibilities anymore, whether they involve house cleaning, creating teaching ideas, or other such things. The key, if there is one alone, seems to exist in her general outlook about the work responsibilities she is involved in. She indicates that she feels she is a high energy type of person and suggests metaphorically that her output is directly related to the quality of her motive to work.

> I think I'm a high energy level person. I think this has something to do with my view of myself and life in general. It is possible to burn the candle at both ends if you watch the kind of wick you have.

Thus it would seem that the way Sarah spends her time and effort seems to her to be highly rewarding. Further, she anticipates that such rewards will continue. From this personal trend it would seem that her feeling of overload, whether it be caused by herself or others, has greatly diminished. But, most importantly, the work that Sarah is involved in seems to have altered her notion of self-overload into something which might rather be termed "self-rejuvenating." (For a detailed summary see Figure 9, Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload.)

Holding Students to a Satisfactory Effort

The following vignette describes an area of concern which has always occupied Sarah's attention. This particular problem, however, did not appear to be a prevalent conflict until later on in her career. It remains at the present time as a continued area of concern, taking much of her time and effort to deal with.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Sarah had a tendency to be too self-demanding regarding domestic duties. She had a tendency to be a perfectionist at home.	Sarah became dissatisfied with the quality of her work at home. It was not good enough for her.	Sarah altered her view of good housekeeping.	It was unnecessary to be a perfectionist at home.	
She experienced difficulty leaving her first child with a sitter.	Sarah felt anxious and a little guilty over leaving her child.	Her sitter proved to be competent.	Sarah's patience was rewarded.	
Sarah wondered if she was performing her domestic responsibilities adequately.	Sarah continued to feel anxious and guilty.	Sarah established a set of rules regarding management.	These rules helped her regain confidence that she was doing as well as she could.	Sarah could see that it was possible to be a good mother, wife, and teacher. All three roles continued to be important to her.
		Sarah's husband and children showed that they could adjust to Sarah being a teacher.	Sarah felt that seeing her family adapt this way was a sign of support for her continued teaching.	Sarah came to appreciate the necessity of home support for her to be a good teacher.
As home pressures subsided Sarah found that she had a tendency to think about school incessantly.	Sarah felt that this tendency was fatiguing and caused her to feel trapped at times.	Sarah found that she had to escape her classroom at times. She was able to do this by recruiting the help of others. Sarah accepted that the tendency to self-overload was not so bad after all and that she could live with it.	By escaping or getting help Sarah could see she was not chained to her classroom. This tension was acceptable.	Sarah could see that the tensions regarding her home and school roles were largely a matter of her own choice and within her own power to manage. Sarah concluded that to be enthused and active as a teacher and homemaker was a good way to be. Sarah is not doing less work than previously, she is doing more. She also believes her ability to do more is because of her deep satisfaction with both her teaching and domestic duties.

Figure 9. Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload.

Earlier in her career, Sarah suggests, she did not experience much difficulty with meeting student expectations. However, she claims, over the years many of her students have become more difficult to please and have a tendency to be more outspoken about their dissatisfaction with their teachers' performances.

> Children are more outspoken about being bored than ever before. Students expect much of teachers today. They become bored easily and are more verbose about this.

The reason for such criticism, she suggests, is because there are more things vying for children's attention. The media, in particular, have affected children. Sarah feels that children have become progressively less willing to participate in classroom activities unless classroom activities are offered in an exciting, even flamboyant manner.

But while the above-described tendency of students bothered Sarah, she recognized that she was well-equipped to handle this change in them. Her claim is that she has always had a vibrant exciting teaching style, one that can compete successfully for the attention of modern students. Her best measure of the success of her teaching style, she adds, is that students enjoy working in her class and are never bored. Therefore, such positive responses have encouraged Sarah to continue on in a direction she wished to go in the first place.

> I fit the media style teacher image more than most teachers. I find my teaching style fits the interests of today's child. That's because I'm a very exuberant teacher. I'm kind of on the move. I don't find the kids say, "I'm bored", "I don't like school", or "This is no fun". I don't ever get that from them. Not because I'm going out of my way to teach but because that's the way I teach. So I'm not doing anything I would not choose to do.

While the conflict described above seemed settled, Sarah also became aware that her students were really reflecting two deeper more basic deficiencies in their behavior. First, Sarah believed that, while students were becoming more critical, they were also becoming more complacent, caring less to do their work well than their counterparts had years previously. She began to see that children were being given more and more material goods by adults than ever before. Ironically, she feels, as children have been given more, they want more. Such a trend becomes problematic because, as students are given things so freely, the results are a deterioration in their drive to do and get things. Stated in broader terms, she adds, they fail to meet new challenges. Such complacency, she adds, results in children lacking not only the will to strive but to feel the joy of success itself. This loss of experience leaves a void in their personalities.

> Some children do not know the joy of success through effort. Children who have things given to them and have everything at their fingertips crave. They have not been forced to develop personally and, in that sense, their personality lacks. Their hunger may drive them towards more material toys, gimmicks, etcetera, but they are continually frustrated. They are spoiled and it's such a shame. They lack challenges. They don't know much about being without or striving.

But such a realization seems to undercut Sarah's rationale to continue on with her vibrant teaching style. She could see the possibilities of contradiction between an entertaining teaching style and a need by students to strive and succeed. However, she remained firm that the two could exist together, being mutually beneficial to her students. She rationalizes that her vibrant style may well be entertaining but not in a way that allowed students to be passive. Passivity was not to be tolerated, as Sarah recognized the importance of holding each and every one of her students to reciprocate with the effort that she put into the activities.

But holding students to reciprocating was not enough, Sarah found. The problem of student complacency called for further explanation than leaving things as they were. There seemed to be a further complication. Sarah felt that students were becoming deficient in what she termed "basic moral fibre". Indicators of this, Sarah felt, were a loss of trust by young people towards adults, thus a lack of obedience by young people to adults and to teachers, in particular. Along with students tending to be disobedient, Sarah adds, they are confused about other basic value traits such as honesty and virtue. Such a deterioration of values, she feels, presents a frightening dilemma.

> This apparent deterioration of values is frightening. Years before kids were taught not to steal and not to lie. Yet now they are learning to cheat and lie if they can get away with it.

This "moral confusion", Sarah concluded, was at the root of her students' difficulties. Because of such apparent lack of values her own job of teaching had become more demanding than years earlier. Without a clear set of values in the classroom, she reasoned, there would be chaos. Whereas at one time students came to school with similar values, now there seemed to be no similarities, just confusion, she claims. In years prior, Sarah had felt free to address "reading, arithmetic, and science concepts". Now she could see that her first priority had to be a values curriculum if she was to be of service to her students and if she was to reap benefits from her efforts.

Thus Sarah added a new emphasis to her teaching, one which gave stability to the earlier steps she had taken in attempts to spur her students on to better things. The results, she reports, have been encouraging. For example, she has held students to being more thoughtful and doing things for others without the promise of rewards. The result, she claims, has been that students show greater respect for each other and to Sarah herself. By doing this type of thing, Sarah feels, she has managed to add moral stability to the way students think about themselves and others. Therefore, the real important things of the curriculum, she concludes, are values themselves. By first working on values Sarah has been able to proceed the way she wants to teach, holding students to meet challenges in a positive, constructive manner rather than in a negative critical fashion, as the trend seemed to have been before.

While Sarah maintained her course holding students to reciprocate her own efforts, she became aware of another problem, this time from the opposite end of the continuum. Because Sarah offered a curriculum emphasizing values which was largely fun-oriented, some students claimed that they were not working. This suggestion implied to Sarah that growth was not taking place. Such a thought she knew was not true. Therefore, she was quick to try to convince students who were complaining that what they were doing was worthwhile and, while not a form of drudgery, it was work.

> It is very very important to me that my students sense they are being challenged and are growing in my class. Sometimes I have to sell them on this because they think they're only having fun. I need to convince them that they are working. For instance, one little boy is in reading in the top three per cent for the city. He thinks he isn't working. But he is. It's just that it's fun.

Whenever suggestions, like the one described above, arise through students, Sarah tries to dispense them quickly. While this form of complaint is not commonly stated by students, Sarah reports that it has, and continues to, strike a sensitive note with her.

Sarah claims that the tendency to feel that work is drudgery, hard, or always difficult causes some students to get caught up in a useless pursuit of detail. She calls this tendency "perfectionism". However, such a trait, Sarah holds, is undesirable for school children. She has learned, as a teacher as well as a mother, that in order for children to grow they must taste a wide range of experiences. Expecting perfection from them then is not only unreasonable, it is impossible. Thus with an expectation of perfection from children, Sarah concludes, somebody is going to lose; either the children, herself, or both.

> My zeal for perfectionism was not so strong at school. I learned early that my work with children would not allow this. How can you have perfectionism with children? That is too extreme and somebody is going to be the loser, either you or the kids. Because kids are not born to be perfectionists. They might be pushed into that. But they were born to explore and create.

Rather than adhering to perfectionism, Sarah feels that children should explore. There is too much to experience in life for them to be trying so early to perfect minute skills. Thus she has them tasting life and students who wish to perfect their skills are not encouraged to do so in her class.

> While I respect children with traits of perfectionism, I try to change them because there are other things in life besides making a straight line where they have to erase, erase, and erase. I try to head off that type of frustration. This type of perfectionism is a difficult line to pursue. In the world where there is too much to pursue and explore, why fuss with things that are here today and gone tomorrow?

Yet, Sarah adds, while she has ruled out perfectionism, she recognizes that a fine line exists between perfectionism and holding students to strive to meet her expectations of them. She feels she is successful in defining that line.

> You can have very high expectations of children without being a perfectionist. The job of the teacher is to get the most out of the child everyday. Not the minimum. The maximum amount of thinking, exploring and problem solving.

Therefore, a balancing point seems to exist between two extremes, complacency and perfectionism. Seeing these opposites has provided clarification to Sarah in determining what she is to hold students to and also in defining what she needs in return from her teaching effort. If she is to glean student-related rewards from teaching, she has decided that she must have an effort from her students which matches her own. Her students must reciprocate, showing that they care to interact in a similar fashion. The fruit of her efforts, Sarah feels, calls for her to be ready to receive her rewards as those rewards often appear in brief but brilliant moments. Such moments must be recognized and savoured. The following statement shows how deeply Sarah is touched by her association with her students and her readiness to glean certain splendid moments with them as significant rewards in return for her teaching efforts.

> Being with children is a joy. Watching them, listening to them provides much satisfaction for me. For example, watching a child's personality come out as he paints a picture, or as one child says something gently to another child, or when a child begins to read, or when he writes a story for the first time. These occasions are like watching your baby take his first step. It's something you feel. It's such an overwhelming feeling. And it's such a thrill and an honour to be able to share in.

Besides catching special moments, Sarah has also come to recognize that there can be a long-term reward involved in interacting with students which she intends to hold to. Sarah's talk about school children reflects deep associations. She intends to retain friendships over the years, not to cut them off when they are promoted from grade one into grade two.

> I get much more satisfaction getting direct positive feedback from my students. It's nice if the parents are happy or compliment me. But I don't really care. It's the kids that I strive to build up a good relationship with. They always say, "Gosh I sure miss it here in your class" or "I sure miss you". My association with these students is never intended to end at grade one. I take pride in the fact that regularly ex-students of all ages come back to visit with me. This is not only at school but at my home as well. It's kind of a nice feeling. I've got so many of my best friends who were at one time my students. They've grown up, married, and have kids of their own. They come around the house all the time. It's kind of neat you know.

Whether her interaction with her students is short term or long term Sarah maintains that she grows right along with them. When asked if she felt it was necessary to put her own developmental interests aside in order to help students she replied:

> I have never felt that I am putting my own growth aside while these children are nurtured, heavens no! Because I've grown so much. You couldn't possibly stay in the same spot. I've grown so much in every way, especially in my tolerance, my understanding of people.

In summary, Sarah found that students did not respond to her efforts as she was used to. She felt students craved fun but they also craved challenges, not passive entertainment. These two needs she could fill. But it took several years of observing her students before she diagnosed what she felt was the real problem, a lack of moral direction on the part of her students. Upon recognizing this need, Sarah altered the emphasis of her curriculum with values becoming the central theme. Sarah also found that the problem of complacency could be taken to opposite extremes by students. In other words students could pursue work for work's sake, often mindlessly and without sensing any enjoyment in it. Perfectionism, Sarah surmised, was a trait that is closely related to such a preoccupation. In children, she concluded, this trait could not be tolerated. Therefore, Sarah could see that a balance must be found between the extremes of perfectionism and complacency. The search for this balance, she accepts, is an on-going task of a teacher. This is particularly so, she adds, as times change and, in turn, students needs and interests change. Sarah even approaches this potential conflict with enthusiasm as she knows the above conflict will continuously reappear and that she knows she is equipped to handle it. Finally, Sarah recognizes that failure to face the conflict involving student response to her means loss of some of the most rewarding moments possible in teaching. Such rewards she is not willing to jeopardize. (For a detailed summary see Figure 10, Learning to Hold Students to a Satisfactory Effort.)

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Sarah felt that students were becoming more complacent and less willing to strive over the years.	Sarah felt frustrated by lack of student response.	Sarah had already been using an entertaining teaching style. She saw that by continuing on in such a way she would encourage student interest.	This technique seemed to improve the situation.	
But students seemed to be more materialistic. And more critical of teachers than in years past. It seemed entertaining was not enough, students tended to be passive.	Sarah continued to feel frustrated. The students were not reciprocating as she had hoped.	Sarah felt that by insisting on students actively responding to her vibrant style she would get acceptable results.	Students were more active than they had been before.	Sarah confirmed in her own mind that teaching in an entertaining fashion did not necessarily mean passiveness on the part of her students. Sarah could see that students would have to reciprocate her effort if she was to feel rewarded for teaching.
But upon deeper observation it appeared that students seemed to be coming less and less clear regarding such things as work values over the years. This seemed to be the root of the problem regarding students failing to strive in class.	Sarah was frightened by a lack of moral confusion shown by students.	Sarah began to teach values as part of the curriculum.	As time progressed teaching values seemed to improve the students' effort in class.	Sarah saw that values were also important as part of the curriculum. Sarah could see a range in attitudes on the part of students, between complacency and perfectionism. She could see that it was possible to retain her expectations of students without adhering to either.
Some of Sarah's students tended to feel they were not working because of the fun they were having in class. Often students would get caught up in "useless" detail, putting their efforts into "unimportant things".	Sarah felt frustrated because students were not pursuing the right things.	Sarah felt that perfectionism is not a trait that children should be encouraged to pursue, she felt. Therefore she would convince students to alter their course.	Sarah did not encounter lengthy difficulty in this area.	Sarah saw that she could glean both present and long term rewards from her teaching efforts. Such rewards, she felt, were dependent on her ability to hold her students on course towards striving to respond to the challenge she set for them.

Figure 10. Learning to Hold Students to a Satisfactory Effort.

Learning to Manage Parent Criticism

The following vignette describes an area which Sarah considers to be highly sensitive in nature. That area involves her teaching style and the way that it has been received by parents.

Sarah remembers, when she began teaching, how strange her instructional style seemed to many of the parents of her students. This was not an entire surprise, she adds, because she began her career in a rural setting where, she feels, traditional styles were generally safer to use. But her view of good teaching involved a lot of integration of subjects, using the arts as a mode to convey concepts. Because the students were doing so much painting, dramatics, and music, Sarah claims that parents could not always see what work had been done or what growth had taken place. To offset such concerns she visited the homes of each of her students, an effective yet equally unorthodox idea, she remembers. While Sarah feels she was successful in convincing parents of the workability of her teaching style, she remembers that home visitations presented a new problem. Apparently her visits from one home to the next offered much fodder to local gossip. She was young and attractive, she remembers, and there were "many raised eyebrows during those days", as some community members wondered what she was doing behind those closed doors. But Sarah brushed "cheap talk" aside and continued her visitations. This procedure, she felt, was worth the investment in time and even worth putting up with disparaging remarks. Thus, during this portion of her teaching career, Sarah remembers, she was able to relieve the tensions produced from parents criticizing her instructional style.

Several years later Sarah moved to an urban school setting. Because she had found home visitations worthwhile to inform parents about her style of teaching, she chose to continue this procedure. Also, because she was in a larger centre, the tendency for community members to gossip about her visits disappeared entirely. She smiles as she states that, as she got older, "no-one wondered about her intentions anymore, anyway". However, she adds, urban parents also needed a great deal of assurance about her work with their children. Like rural parents these people were the product of a more traditional teaching style than what Sarah had hoped to offer.

While Sarah attempted to foster the parents' confidence in her teaching, she also became aware of another complication. Urban parents seemed more diverse in what they expected of her as a teacher. They were also more verbose about their views. In short, Sarah feels, urban parents were even more difficult to please than those parents she had encountered rurally.

Another important reason for parents becoming difficult to please, Sarah suggests, is that all parents, as a group, seemed to be changing over the years. As parents changed they began to more openly question her teaching style. However, Sarah feels this tendency was not because parents were well informed. Rather, she suggests, parents seemed to be confused about their views. Because of this confusion they were more prone to become frustrated, thus would criticize or complain to her as the teacher. Sarah feels that this tendency stems back to the fact that parents had not seen enough current school situations to know what they could reasonably expect of teachers. Parents continue to be this way presently, Sarah claims. This observation leads her to make the following generalization.

> Parents today are like their children. They really don't know what they want but they seem to always want more than what they have. Now this school, for example, I don't think you could have a better staff or a better set of circumstances for your child to come into. It's a loving, clean, happy, good place. And yet we still have parents complaining about either there's too much or there's not enough.

Sarah reports that she has devised several procedures, in addition to those mentioned earlier, to offset the tendency of parents to criticize her teaching style, at the same time as winning their support. A discussion of these procedures follows. First, when wishing to introduce a new program idea which might have altered the present way the children were learning, she looked to recruiting parent support through a special meeting in her classroom as well as by continuing her annual home visitations for the beginning of the school year. Second, as before, even normal activities in class seemed to draw some parent concern because "real work" sometimes didn't seem to be occurring. To convince parents that work was being done as well as, and perhaps even better than, in a traditional classroom Sarah began sending weekly newsletters home. Further, Sarah decided that a powerful method to convey the academic competence of her students to parents would be to do worksheets once a week and send them home. While this type of activity she found to be drab and unexciting, Sarah admits that it not only convinced parents of the progress that went on in her class but it consolidated work done for the students and provided additional direction for herself.

> It acts as a compromise for the parents and students who feel hard work has to be reflected on worksheets. It also gives the students a chance to consolidate their work thus far. And finally, it keeps one on track. It provides a standard. It firms up a lot of hazy areas that I'm not sure of with the kids, a type of evaluation.

The above procedure continues presently. Each week Sarah's students have a "Take Home Day". Every Friday they pack up all of the work sheets they have done that day, slip it into the folded newsletter that Sarah has prepared, and take it home. It is this type of communication, along with the regular presence of parent aides in her classroom, that Sarah feels provides her with the type of parent support that she desires.

A third procedure Sarah used regarding parent criticism of her teaching style involved face-to-face confrontations. The nature of such criticisms, she learned, usually regarded a lack of student desk-work in her classroom. Feeling sensitive about this area, Sarah found that by presenting her views as completely as she could, parents would be convinced of her rationale. For the most part, she points out, parents are not particularly knowledgeable about classroom activities and arguments they might have are not usually strong.

> I usually create a case for it because I don't think that the parent knows what they're talking about. They haven't got grounds to say that work is not being done. And I would really make an effort to prove what I am doing

> is more important than what they think it is. But because it's a new field for the parents you have to really go into depth with it and explain it carefully to them, and give them examples, and really promote it.

However, on some rare occasions a parent would remain critical after Sarah had patiently presented her case. Seeing that type of encounter as unfruitful, Sarah learned that it was best to terminate the conversation quickly and as painlessly as possible.

> I try to satisfy them as quickly as possible to get rid of their criticism fast. For instance I would try to shut them up in ten words. Or I would play their game by saying, "Yes, times have changed since we were young". In such cases I might try to unruffle their feathers.

Finally, when Sarah felt hurt by parent criticism, when it seemed parents did not appreciate her efforts, she learned to look for support from her colleagues. With her colleagues she found sympathetic understanding and a relief from feeling burdened by unfair criticism.

> In such cases I've looked to reinforcement from another teacher or the principal, someone who is familiar with my teaching style and my rationale for it. It makes things better. I can even laugh off criticism, when I hear a colleague say, "That's not right. That happened to me too", or "She's always yapping about something". In such cases it's immediately finished. It's done. It's ended. And I think you learn to run for help if you need it. If you can't handle it yourself.

Having experienced and dealt with various parent complaints over the years, Sarah feels her perspective related to parents has altered. First, Sarah sees many parents as being inexperienced. She, on the other hand, views herself as one who has tested and tried a number of teaching styles over the years and also one who, in her opinion, has been a successful parent several times over. Because of her experience Sarah feels she is more knowledgeable about children and schooling than the parents she presently deals with. Further when faced with parent criticism, she feels her experience is the basis of her confidence to dispense quickly with the criticism.

> Generally, parents don't know when they've got a good thing because this is their first time through this. But I do. And I usually don't encounter lengthy trouble. I can dispense with it quickly. This is largely because I know how much I'm doing. I've been in both places, both teaching styles. And I am a parent. And I can relate to such frustrations. And I know the students are getting more.

Because of this growing confidence Sarah has come to the view that she does not need a lot of coaching or advice from parents. She feels that she does not need to accept complaining as she may have when she was younger.

> Because I am sure of my approach in teaching I tend not to entertain outright complaining. Perhaps I did when I was younger.

Extending the above point, Sarah has come to the view that, while she once may have needed reassurance from parents, she no longer does. Ironically, she receives compliments regularly and accepts them graciously.

> I feel I don't need a lot of reassuring phone calls from parents congratulating me on my doing a good job. But I do get lots of calls regarding this or just to say hello. And I'm happy about it.

Above all, Sarah has come to the point that, while parents are not well-informed about schooling, they are powerful allies in educating her students. For that reason their support and trust is necessary for her to function well as a teacher.

> If you've earned their trust and you have any of their other children, or if they believe in you, or if they realize you know what you're doing, or if they are not socially shaken or nervous about your teaching style, they will let their child alone.

To Sarah, at this stage of her career, the teaching role is her domain. It is not the domain of parents. The following comment expresses the strength of her feeling about this.

> I don't pick up suggestions and criticism and immediately switch in the direction the parent wishes. I feel strongly about my teaching style. This is my domain. Because it is important to me I will expend energy promoting it or defending it to parents.

In closing, Sarah recognizes that where parents are involved there is potential for conflict at anytime. However, she no longer experiences as many conflicts in this area as she had in her earlier years. Yet, as she points out, the reason for this diminishment is not because it is less important or that parents are less critical. It is because she is continuously managing conditions to be assured that this potential conflict is not raised.

Sarah feels her management activity represents a balance occurring between her efforts to decrease parent criticism and to maintain their trust and support of her. As alluded to earlier, she views her association with parents as an alliance. In a sense, this alliance is a compromise between what Sarah views as good teaching and what parents view as good teaching. While Sarah feels she cannot teach without parent support, this compromise is not necessarily an equal split between her views and the views of her parents. Rather, it represents a dynamic and artful manipulation of conditions where Sarah maintains those things which she hopes to do with her students, at the same time as actively recruiting and often trying to alter the views of her parents. In the various ways described she confidently leads parents toward her own views of good teaching. (For a detailed summary see Figure 11, Learning to Manage Parent Criticism.)

Dealing with Conflicting Expectations of Specialists

During the five formal interviews Sarah did not speak of conflict with consultants or subject area specialists. The reason for a lack of conflict with these interactors stems from Sarah's view of herself as a teacher. To Sarah an exceptional teacher can become one who might provide assistance to other teachers. In short, teachers can be specialists and vice versa. As stated earlier, Sarah feels she has been blessed with special teaching skills. Because she sees herself this way she considers herself a specialist in her own right, offering assistance to other teachers in need of help. Thus there has been little reason for critical conflicts to exist between Sarah and specialists. However, Sarah's view of herself as a specialist has presented her with conflicts between herself and some other teachers. Such conflicts will be shown in the next section.

Learning to Maintain a Sense of Collegiality

The following vignette attempts to show how Sarah learned, over a period of time, that interacting with her peers called for a tremendous amount of tact. This tact was particularly important regarding collegial sharing, an area that Sarah enthusiastically pursued from the beginning of her career. But, as will be shown, Sarah found that there had to be limits set as to just what and

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Rural parents were uncertain of Sarah's unorthodox teaching style.	Sarah was hurt but determined to show parents that her teaching style was appropriate.	Sarah continued teaching the way she preferred and attempted to ignore indirect criticisms and rumours.	Sarah sensed that the conflict was not relieved substantially.	
		Sarah began visiting homes to recruit parent support.	Sarah sensed that the conflict was more relieved.	Sarah became aware of the importance of parent support and confidence in her ability and teaching style. Therefore, a compromise would have to be made between herself and parents.
Some community members gossiped about Sarah's visitations. Sarah heard via the "grape vine".	Sarah was frustrated with the gossip.	Sarah continued her visitations despite gossip,	Sarah felt that she could put up with the gossip as long as the parents supported her.	
		In time Sarah moved to an urban school.	Gossip regarding home visits reduced.	As Sarah began to see the results of her work with her students she became more confident about her teaching style.
Sarah found that urban parents were more diverse in their views and had greater expectations of her than had rural parents. Some of these urban parents tended to be more critical of her teaching style.	Sarah felt hurt that these parents did not feel confident about her. She felt determined to show them that her style was useful, even superior to other teaching styles.	Sarah devised five main management strategies to deal with parent criticism. 1. She recruited parent support through meetings and home visitations. 2. She maintained parent support through newsletters, worksheets, and a parent aide program. 3. She met parent criticism by patiently trying to explain to them. However, if a parent seemed unreasonable she would cut off the conversation and not worry about it. 4. She would look to colleagues for sympathy if unfair criticism pursisted. 5. She remains strong and confident about her views when speaking with parents. They seemed to feel secure in this act of surety on her part.	Sarah felt these strategies worked.	Sarah came to understand that she did not need a lot of parent input. Rather, she needed their support in the form of being left alone. She looked to parents as allies but not as equal partners. Sarah became less dependent on receiving compliments and assurances from parents. Sarah came to accept that parents would remain diverse in their views and that she would always have to deal with some parent criticism and complaining. Further, she came to feeling more confident in her ability to face such conditions.

Figure 11. Learning to Manage Parent Criticism.

how much she could share with various colleagues. The conflicts discussed in this vignette are remembered by Sarah as being perhaps the most critical she has experienced in her career to date.

Sarah remembers the zeal that she expressed initially in promoting a sense of collegial sharing among teachers. Upon arriving on the school scene she had been taken aback to find that most teachers tended to work in isolation. To Sarah this did not make sense, especially where planning was concerned. She failed to see any reason why she could not join forces with her colleagues. But she was not successful in establishing a work group or even a partnership. The other teachers wanted to continue on in a way with which they were familiar.

> I used to try to get something like an idea bank going. This was to join forces, to cooperate, so we could save our energy for other things instead of always reinventing the wheel. But no way. It never worked.

For a period of time Sarah was successful in convincing some other teachers of the same grade level that team teaching might be a useful technique. But, she remembers, team teaching as she had hoped for never came to be. Rather than there being a team, Sarah reports, it was really a case of her taking all the students for a portion of Friday afternoons. Sarah did not mind, however. She has fond memories of doing impromptu drama with a group that was as large as one hundred children at times. These children responded well to Sarah's unique approach and, she remembers, their fascination was so intense "you could hear a pin drop". Yet the other teachers did not pick up the idea. It was not until the idea of team teaching was in its second year that one of the other teachers suggested that she might read to the students during some of the Friday afternoon times. This suggestion delighted Sarah, but it was too little too late. A problem arose where one of the other teachers refused to have her students involved in the Friday afternoon activities. Sarah reflects on this.

> I think it was because she was hurt. She couldn't understand why the kids should be doing this activity. As well, it's possible the kids were voicing so much approval in class that her ego couldn't take it. I believe she was threatened and jealous.

Sarah had not been aware of the tension she had caused at the time. She remembers that she had been completely caught up in the fun of interacting with students. But she had been too busy to be concerned about her colleagues. By being forgetful, Sarah had blundered into the territory of another teacher. She generalizes in the following statement.

> Teachers are very possessive. Sometimes they won't even give up their kids for anything because they think somebody's going to encroach on their territory. And I think she felt I was horning in on her territory. Like "how could the kids like two teachers?"

Seeing what had happened, Sarah concluded that sharing in the fashion she had been attempting to do was not appropriate. She would have to alter her own behavior. Therefore, her solution was to work more on her own with her own class. She saw that she had jeopardized any sense of collegiality by appearing pushy and even pompous about her own teaching skills. Giving her colleagues such an impression she could not afford, she decided.

> For years I have hesitated about sharing what skills I have with other teachers. I felt it wrong and that I would appear as a braggart and that other teachers would think I thought I was better than them.

Sarah concluded from the above experience that a number of teachers on each staff, besides being threatened, could become resentful. She suggests that such teachers are more structured and closed to interaction with other teachers.

> Sometimes there's a resentful core. They never do their share. You get a kind of bitchiness. When I took the group for Friday drama the other times, teachers did not participate as a rule. Therefore they did not see or understand why impromptu drama can be both fun and useful. These teachers were more structured, even rigid. The other teachers preferred to be in their rooms. That's what they wanted to do.

Experiences such as the conflict described lead Sarah to differentiate between the type of teacher she wanted to be and what she did not want to be. For instance, she began to see that doing what was simply expected by others, staying free from risk and complaint, was not good enough for her. However, she surmises, it appeared that it was good enough for some teachers.

> According to outside sources they are good teachers. They do what they have to do. They do what is necessary. But they will not risk nor will they draw any complaints. But this is the kind of teacher who would come and go, and would never make an impact. And we have this kind of teacher in our system. You can't find fault with them because they do their job. But that is all they do. They don't go the extra mile. Their lesson plans are in order.

Sarah calls teachers who are too careful and do only what they feel they have to do, "non-exceptional". Non-exceptional teachers, she explains, are opposed to exceptional teachers. The following statements about such an opposition she made during several separate interviews.

> 1. Those who are not exceptional are often insecure and are threatened and fearful of exceptional people.
>
> 2. Non-exceptional people tend to be closed and protective about what they know.
>
> 3. The world is full of those who are closed and protective against those who are exceptional.

As the picture of non-exceptional teachers emerged Sarah also began to see more clearly what entailed an exceptional teacher. The following comparative statements demonstrate this.

> 1. Exceptional people share, "Give me more. Give me more of what you've got!" Non-exceptional people feel like they're being interfered with instead of shared with.
>
> 2. Exceptionality requires self-confidence. Exceptional people do not feel threatened. But non-exceptional people are threatened easily.
>
> 3. Exceptional people attract each other like magnets. But exceptional people repel non-exceptional people.

Sarah pointed out that she has come to see that exceptionality is not necessarily an innate ability. Rather, she feels, most teachers can reach a level of exceptionality if they wish. It is a level available to them to strive for.

> Those who are not exceptional have not reached an exceptional level. They have not become.

Finally, Sarah saw that her view of herself as exceptional might well contribute toward a breakdown between her and her colleagues. She began to see that disclosing her weaknesses to her colleagues was important to her association with her peers. Slowly she sensed that other teachers would accept her and the concept of sharing if she exposed her vulnerable side.

> Some days you do feel a little more special or exceptional. But some days you don't. But that's alright. That's what it's all about. And that means not flaunting yourself as being the best teacher, as never making mistakes. It means having days when you're crappy and having days when you're very vulnerable.

In further rationalizing this new position Sarah feels that she presently remains open to growth. She reasons that, while she has become more acceptable to her colleagues than before, she continues to maintain her quest for exceptionality.

> Admitting that you can't do something, that's a sign of growth. If you can always do everything, then where do you go? So, being honest and saying to another, "I can't do that very well", or "I'm having trouble with that", or "Gee, I've had a difficult time handling that idea", to me that's a valuable thing. My being this way is more acceptable to other teachers. In order to be good, to be an exceptional teacher, I think you have to admit defeat many times.

Sarah's hope for collegial sharing was not just a case of other teachers accepting what she had to offer them. At the same time as some of her colleagues were seeing her as imposing on their roles, she too was experiencing similar problems. She remembers, for instance, the anger she used to feel when colleagues would use special program ideas that she had developed "without so much as a word" from them. The lack of courtesy to give credit bothered her.

> There is a difference between taking an idea and being offered or asking about an idea.

Sarah also felt hurt to think that she had tried to offer ideas in a face-to-face manner and, like the situation described earlier, those ideas had been turned down. Indicators of this "idea stealing" she found, were when bits and pieces of her ideas would start to appear around the school. Alphabet boxes or learning stations that she had developed would appear, for example, in a piecemeal fashion in someone else's classroom. In such cases the concept upon which she had been building seemed lost. To Sarah, the point of her work had been misconstrued and mismanaged. Therefore, not only the lack of courtesy but the sloppy application of the ideas by others bothered her.

> It just kills you when a whole concept has been totally missed and mismanaged. When someone lifts an idea that I've been using and applies it in a simpleminded way without so much as a word, I feel angry.

She remembered, for instance, an occasion when a friend used her ideas for a university class. She had helped the friend. But in return the friend took full credit, with no recognition of Sarah's efforts.

> I used to really get uptight. I feel this occasion, for example, has made me more aware of the importance of this point of credit. That incident sat with me for years as a bone of contention until I could come to terms with why that happened. But it took me a long time. I wasn't mature enough. It ended our friendship because I couldn't handle the fact that I had been used.

Experiences where teachers "lifted ideas" led Sarah to establishing two rules. They are as follows.

> 1. While I wish to share, there is a point of etiquette which teachers need to be aware of when borrowing ideas. You never simply lift an idea. You recognize what another teacher is doing, give her recognition, and ask if she minds if you give it a try.
>
> 2. When trying out a concept which another teacher has developed to a rather high level of sophistication, you do not just try it out of context or just fiddle with it. You should respect that teacher's work by trying to do the concept credit, as well as to give credit first to that teacher.

Finally, over the years, Sarah claims that her perspective has altered considerably regarding getting credit. She no longer sees the sense of pursuing credit. While she is willing to give it, to her, credit itself has diminished considerably in importance.

> If I don't get credit for what I do now or if somebody else gets credit for what I do, I don't care. I really don't care. I think I can honestly say that this doesn't bother me like it used to. When I was younger and not as sure of myself, well that was different.

But the content of what Sarah used in her teaching was not the only cause for concern with her peers. She found that the way she viewed her students was not the same as some of her peers. For example, some teachers would actually enter her classroom and "bawl out" one of her students. Of course, Sarah adds, this action was not meant as an imposition but, just the same, other teachers had no right to step into her territory. In such cases the territory was not just the classroom but the way in which the students were confronted. It used to appall Sarah whenever she saw or heard other teachers downgrading students. With the same sense of revulsion Sarah remembers that talk between teachers often reflected this same tendency. The result was that Sarah tended to interact less with her colleagues instead of more, the opposite to what she had hoped for.

> I've been on two staffs where I couldn't stand going to the staffroom because they didn't have this attitude. I couldn't stand the constant complaining. There'd be some old girls in there talking about kids being stupid, knowing nothing, and how they spent the whole day correcting them. I found that to be depressing, demoralizing.

Sarah remembers bitterly when she felt it took all her inner strength to fend off the tendency to be sucked into talking in a negative way about students.

> It almost gets to the point where you are looked down upon because you are not demoralizing the children. I have felt pressured too to become like the other teachers are who I don't wish to be like. It takes a great deal of strength and conviction to believe what you believe in and not be swayed by the masses.

During such days Sarah found refuge in her classroom, choosing to find quiet and solitude there, away from the staffroom.

> Sometimes your room becomes your refuge because you and the kids can become one.

Sarah also kept a diary. By doing so, she claims, she was able to come to grips with some of these difficulties. The exercise of keeping a diary helped her hold to the views of good teaching that she felt were true, even if they were not the norm.

> I used to write in a type of a diary to maintain my sanity. At the end of the day I got things ~~down.~~ Things that I couldn't handle. And when I looked at them I could put everything in perspective.

While Sarah felt she was establishing greater clarity regarding her own role, she was beginning to feel that any sense of close collegiality was not possible. It appeared that she and her colleagues at that point in time did not share common views. The solution came over a number of years. Sarah claims that she hasn't changed a lot regarding her views of good teaching and about collegiality. Rather, there are more teachers nowadays who share her views. Further, with her transferring to new school situations she found conditions getting progressively better. For example, at her present school Sarah feels "everyone is family". There are no signs of distrust here. Teachers freely offer advice back and forth regarding teaching practices and "no noses are out of joint". Further, there are no signs of teachers shouting in a cross manner at students, especially someone else's.

> I'm very happy on this staff, really blessed, because it hasn't been that long since I have been on staffs where in the hall you would hear teachers shouting or grabbing and shaking kids. That was awful.

Sarah further claims that her present colleagues know when to leave her alone. But most importantly, Sarah recognizes that these colleagues seem to have a sense of when assistance is welcome and in what fashion. The following comment bears this out.

> Today I caught myself beginning to feel overloaded, tense, a little frustrated, and starting to complain because things were not going my way. Another teacher, dear soul that she was, says, "I wonder what we can do to change this?" Instead of agreeing with me and saying, "Ya, ya, they're just a bunch of terrible kids", she immediately picked up my need for a comforting word. She says, "Yes, I've had that problem too. I wonder what we can do to help."

Sarah's gratitude for her new situation has contributed to a growing confidence. She has finally found a home, she says, a place where her views and teaching style are accepted and approved.

> I have grown tremendously as a self-confident teacher over the years. This confidence has been forced somewhat because I never was on the same side of the road as the majority of other teachers. I was always this eccentric teacher that did these weird things like make jello etcetera. There are more teachers now who feel as I do now. But ten years ago there weren't. I knew I was right. But I wasn't all that confident in lots of areas. I knew drama was the best way of teaching but it was seen only as a frill in elementary schools. So I think I guarded my ideas a little bit stronger than I do now.

The confidence Sarah feels about her teaching views is also reflected in the following set of rules which she feels have become formulated subsequent to her having experienced and pondered the conflicts described earlier.

> 1. A teacher should never push an idea about teaching on another teacher. But she should be willing to offer if conditions are right.
>
> 2. Teachers will not receive ideas well which appear to be coming from someone who thinks they are better teachers. Therefore, the giver is better to disclose her own weaknesses and show she is willing to learn in the exchange.

Such a teacher is still willing to learn more and has come to a really nice point. She has to come to a higher level in her teaching.

3. Never take program ideas that other teachers have developed. Speak to them about it. Get an insight into the reason for the ideas. Ask permission to use the idea. These courtesies are important.

4. Speak with other teachers about what appears to be misbehavior on the part of their students. Do not first discipline the student unless the teacher is not available. In this case, treat the student firmly but do not be abusive.

5. Stay out of another teacher's classroom unless it is to directly interact with him or her.

6. Do not indulge in abusive talk about children with other teachers. Such a practice can have a demoralizing effect on them.

7. Periodically another teacher needs a helping hand. Be sensitive to this need. Be ready to provide constructive advice. Watch for hints as to where and when the help is needed.

Throughout experiences of conflict involving her peers Sarah has appeared to back away from teachers who have not seen eye to eye with her. Rather than antagonizing them, she has seemed to outwardly accept and tolerate their views. Sarah reports that she has endeavoured to keep potentially conflicting thoughts within her. She feels this was necessary in the interest of preserving the peace between herself and other teachers. Without this peace, or trust, she could see that there would have been absolutely no hope for collegial sharing, an objective she has held her sights on throughout her career.

But while Sarah sought refuge in her classroom and consolation in her diary, it has been shown that she has not necessarily been passive internally. Rather, she made great efforts to manage the difficulties described. For instance, she made great efforts to respect the territory of other teachers and to promote good will and professionalism between herself and her colleagues. In time, Sarah's patient efforts were rewarded. She now feels she has come to a point where her view of herself as an exceptional teacher no longer sets herself apart from her colleagues. The diminishment of conflict in this area is because she has maintained her sense of exceptionality as well as a form of respectful collegiality. The ultimate key to this maintenance, she claims, is her growth in self-confidence, feeling that self-promotion is less important now than years before, and that she is more willing to openly disclose her personal weaknesses to others than years before. Having held to her views about exceptionality and collegiality seems to have allowed Sarah to reach a point where she can share her gifts with other teachers without endangering her associations with them. She claims she is finally at the point where she wants to be.

> I've found that you can't hide your light under a bushel. It is important to share and share. Otherwise you'll fade. I haven't the right to consider my talents as my own. They are gifts to me. I am grateful and I will use them in this light. The important thing is I am giving. I am showing other people that I am what I am.

Evangelically inspired Sarah continues. Her position with her peers and the responsibility she feels for the profession is reflected in the following statement.

> I always knew I had a special job to do and the teaching I do revolves around that. It's like a testimonial, spreading the gospel. I always think the best Christians are the ones who don't talk about it. If you've got to flaunt it, no, show me. That's the way I feel about teaching too. Don't tell me how good you are. I encourage other teachers to come and watch me teach and to be with my kids. I offer my services to speak to groups about children. I do whatever I can to instill my views in other teachers, parents, and other educators.

(For a detailed summary see Figure 12, Learning to Maintain a Sense of Collegiality.)

Dealing with Lack of Support by the Principal

This vignette presents a conflict which was much more pronounced earlier in Sarah's career than is the case at the present time. By the same token the conflict which is to be described, she reports, was not as extreme as those reported earlier in this chapter. However, it caused sufficient dissonance to have made Sarah unhappy at one time and seems to have provided her with a deeper appreciation for her present principal than would have been the case if she had not had such an experience of conflict.

Sarah remembers that, earlier in her career, her first principal was quite skeptical of Sarah's teaching style. Her lack of orthodoxy was unsettling to the principal, she feels. Because of this lack of confidence in her work on the part of the principal, Sarah recalls having difficulty in securing special materials that she felt were necessary to teach the way she wanted. Her principal seemed set on controlling her activities, she suggests. The result, she says, often led her to do some things in spite of what the principal said, rather than in cooperation with him. But Sarah rarely faced her principal personally. She quietly and resolutely continued on

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Sarah found that her attempts to share ideas about teaching were taken poorly by some of her peers.	Sarah was confused and hurt because her attempts to promote collegiality were not reciprocated.	Sarah decided to promote teacher sharing less than before.	Sarah noted that she was no longer considered pushy by other teachers but she was not able to share as she had hoped.	Sarah learned that teachers can very possessive about their students. Sarah saw that she could not exist comfortably with her peers as long as they felt she thought she was a better teacher than they. She further concludes, pushing ideas on other teachers would break down collegial trust. Sarah began to see the types of qualities she admired and those qualities she did not admire about teachers. Her quest for exceptionality became clearer because she could see opposite types, exceptionality and non-exceptionality. She felt grateful that she was en route to the former.
		In later years Sarah began emphasizing her weak points to other teachers.	Sarah noted that she was trusted more by other teachers.	Sarah could see that emphasizing her weaknesses as well as her strengths is important.
Sarah found that some teachers "stole" her program ideas. While she wanted to share, she did not like the manner in which other teachers would take ideas.	Sarah felt angry. This was quite the opposite to the type of collegial sharing she had tried earlier to promote.	Sarah suppressed her anger, deciding to put up with the thoughtlessness.	Sarah's anger subsided.	Sarah could see that face-to-face confrontations with these teachers was petty. Keeping the peace was a better approach because she was beginning to see that such teachers were experiencing difficulty.

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Figure 12. Learning to Maintain a Sense of Collegiality.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
				Sarah began to see that the gaining of credit was not so important. Such a pursuit was not productive in the long run. While credit was not so very important, Sarah could see that it is necessary to directly approach a teacher about using her ideas as a matter of etiquette. This experience produced more evidence of unexceptional teachers.
Sarah noted that some other teachers seemed to impose a disagreeable teaching style on her.	Sarah felt alienated from many of her peers.	Sarah found refuge in her classroom, spending less time in the staffroom.	Sarah's alliance was largely with her students. She could enjoy such an alliance.	Sarah claims that, over time, more and more teachers have become aligned with her teaching style. Her notions of good teaching were becoming confirmed through new associations. She is deeply grateful for the collegial support for her work, and encouraged on to new heights. She has come to understand that teacher collegiality and exceptionality depends on a mutual trust, territorial respect and tact. Without these ingredients there is little hope for the type of experiences she hopes for.
		Sarah kept a diary to put such difficulties into perspective.	Sarah felt less dissatisfied about being alienated. Sarah was able to find an understanding listener in her diary but was beginning to doubt if the collegiality she wanted was possible.	
		Sarah was transferred to schools which were more "progressive" and where the staff members were more thoughtful.	The transfers were quite agreeable with Sarah.	

Figure 12 -- Continued.

without his support, as the following statement demonstrates.

> Before, when I felt strongly enough about adding something to the classroom that wasn't acceptable to the principal, I snuck them in and closed the door.

The above comment referred to the refusal of the principal to purchase Leggos for Sarah's classroom. His feeling was that games activities involving materials like Leggos were inappropriate in grades other than kindergarten. Interestingly, because of this conflict, Sarah feels, she began to see herself as more of an individualist, becoming more stubborn and continuing to sneak in special games materials into her classroom and to undertake special actitivites that the principal might disapprove of. Looking back on these earlier days Sarah remembers needing much reassurance instead of antagonistic attempts to control her teaching by her principal. Because the principal appeared not to support Sarah's interests in teaching she felt quite alienated from him.

But as the years passed Sarah found herself in the company of principals who were not skeptical of her teaching style. Sarah was encouraged to openly practice techniques that she had been forced to use behind closed doors previously. While these principals were not entirely familiar with her methods, Sarah recalls that they never tried to draw her back to what their view of the norm was at the time.

This new-found freedom became progressively more satisfactory as far as Sarah was concerned. Now, in her present position, she has been provided with extra teaching space and additional materials, as described earlier. The provision of such materials, Sarah acknowledges, came due to the direct influence of her principal.

She feels that her present principal is confident in her ability to teach. The provision of the teaching materials that Sarah wanted, she feels, is a true indication of this confidence.

Therefore, Sarah looks at her present principal with great appreciation. She feels welcome to openly express her views regarding a variety of important decisions to her present principal. Sarah feels that now her view is valued and of some consequence outside of her own classroom. The following comment about selection bears out this point and also offers some explanation as to why Sarah sees there being less of a philosophical rift between herself and other teachers than had been the case years previously.

> The principal allows me a lot of input to important decisions. The selection of new teachers is an example. When we had a teacher here who brow beat the students I said to the principal, "That's not fair. That teacher doesn't go with our philosophy. Its going to cause a lot of strain on the whole staff."

Sarah gives credit to her present principal for recruiting staff members who are of a similar philosophical persuasion. Attending to pedagogical agreement, Sarah feels, has eliminated the type of stress that she had felt between herself and her colleagues years before. Further, her principal has nurtured an atmosphere free of the types of controls that Sarah had previously reacted against. Her following comment expresses satisfaction with her present circumstances.

> This principal is very determined to get what she wants for her staff and has worked darn hard to get a good strong sense of oneness here. We're very close. There is an element of freeness to this school. But if teachers of a different persuasion or practice were here there would be a lot of stress between staff members.

Finally, Sarah feels there are others from outside of the school who are critical of her principal at times. The reason, she states is that the principal appears too free, too wishy washy, to others who do not work closely with the principal. But Sarah feels that her principal is not always understood by those outside of the school. Sarah maintains that her present principal is exceedingly strong. Her principal has the ability to leave Sarah and her colleagues alone. Being left alone Sarah takes as a vote of confidence in her ability as a teacher. But more than just being left alone Sarah reports that her present principal seems to know when to offer advice or guidance. The principal, according to Sarah, seems to have a special sense of tact in knowing when to stand back and when to step in.

> She may seem wishy washy to an outsider but she's not. She's very strong. It's her strength that has made this school unique. She doesn't interfere. She knows when to leave teachers alone. She does have an ability to see when a teacher needs help and to step in at the right time, however.

Because Sarah's principal is open to suggestions and shows a trust in Sarah's ability, she has earned Sarah's trust. For that reason Sarah looks to her principal as a key supporter in times of difficulty. Therefore, the conditions that exist between Sarah and her present principal seem to have greatly improved from the antagonism she perceived having existed between herself and her principal when she began her career. The following comment supports this view, as Sarah responds to a question about whether or not she ever needed support from others.

> I think it would be ridiculous to say you don't. You'd like to think you can hang in there all by yourself but I think almost everybody needs a shoulder to cry on in sympathy and needs someone to give them a pat on the back. And that's the principal.

Sarah had been faced with a lack of confidence shown her by her first principal. She feels this lack of confidence put added pressure on her work. But despite the fact that she was a beginning teacher, lacking tenure, she continued to work in some areas without his support. This experience seems to have made Sarah more appreciative of experiences with later principals. Because of positive interaction with her present principal, the original conflict has faded into unimportance, Sarah reports. Presently Sarah and her principal seem to hold each other in high esteem. This esteem seems to be evidence of active management efforts on Sarah's part as well as her principal's. (For a detailed summary see Figure 13, Dealing with a Lack of Support by the Principal.)

Overcoming Curriculum Rigidity

This vignette describes a conflict that Sarah feels was particularly strong initially in her career. While the dissonance produced by this conflict has decreased substantially over the years, it will be shown that Sarah is still quite active trying to manage a satisfactory balance between what she wants as a teacher and what she perceives authorities outside of the school wanting of her. The term "authorities" were not clearly defined during the interviews. But one thing was clear, it was the curriculum that Sarah taught that they seemed to be trying to influence.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Sarah's earlier principal was skeptical of her teaching style.	Sarah felt somewhat alienated from this principal but her feelings about her teaching style remained strong.	Sarah "snuck" materials into her classroom and taught the way she wanted despite the principal.	Sarah's alienation from the principal continued but she was able to teach the way she wanted.	Sarah saw this principal as interfering because of his skepticism about her teaching style. Because of this interference, she concluded, it was fair to work in a secretive fashion.
		Sarah eventually transferred to a new school.	Other principals, and especially her present principal, were much more supportive of Sarah and her style of teaching. She no longer felt alienated from the principal. She actually felt trusted and respected.	Sarah concluded that the principal could best support her by leaving her alone to teach as she saw fit and by asking about her views on school policy. Sarah saw that a new role priority would involve open communication with the principal. Sarah began to see that she could call on her principal for help in times of difficulty. Sarah felt all the more confident in her teaching style. Whereas she had weathered difficult years without support, she now had that support and respectability.

Figure 13. Dealing with a Lack of Support by the Principal.

Sarah remembers she used to get very cross, feeling hemmed-in by what seemed were rigid curriculum expectations of her. The official curricula seemed to say that she had to use particular materials in a particular way. Therefore, to teach in the manner she wanted as a novice teacher, she remembers, was made all the more difficult because of this perceived curricular rigidness.

> I used to get so cross because I had to work within the dumb structure that said you have to do workbooks and so on.

However, part of the problem, Sarah found, was really within herself. She had been taught in university to construct and adhere to precise aims and objectives on a daily basis. But she found that for her efforts she was not getting worthwhile returns. Upon realizing this problem, Sarah, in retrospect, sees that she began to develop three major skills to effect a more tolerable situation. First, Sarah feels that she became skilled at internalizing aims and objectives. She has found that writing aims and objectives in longhand is not particularly profitable anymore. Therefore, she claims to have learned to retain her focus on what her teaching intents are without investing a lot of time describing them on paper.

> Over time I have learned to project my aims and objectives without always putting them in written form. I have internalized this process. There's no way you're going to sit down and write down objectives to every lesson that you are going to teach. That's stupid. But you have to learn to do it, to learn to focus.

At the same time Sarah emphatically qualifies her statement about internalizing, saying that before internalizing is possible it is necessary to formulate aims and objectives through writing them. Writing aims and objectives down, she adds, is the only way to learn to recognize projected outcomes of one's teaching.

> I'm not saying aims and objectives are unnecessary. They exist with each teacher. Their formulation is the first step to good teaching. They represent a way of thinking about the results of your teaching. Learning to formulate aims and objectives is the only way to be able to recognize the projected outcome of your teaching.

The second skill that Sarah developed to counteract seemingly rigid curriculum expectations regarded her being flexible to students' needs and interests. For instance, she had found that her students rarely seemed to learn exactly the amount she had prescribed in her daily aims and objectives. Therefore, she began to extend her aims and objectives within the bounds of a weekly time period, instead of a daily period. In making this adjustment Sarah found that she was better able to pick up on points missed from one day to the next or from one week to the next.

> If you come in here and checked my lesson plans you'd die. By this I don't mean I have no plans. I do not plan so much on a daily basis. It's more of a week plan. This allows me flexibility to create, to allow interaction. I plan to do so much in reading, for example. Near the end of the week, if I see I haven't covered such and such, it would be carried over to the next week.

As well, Sarah found that she could not always plan activities that would be of interest to her students. By being more flexible she found that she was better able to follow spontaneously emergent interests that seemed to be shared by her students. The following comments show her willingness to drop plans, altering them to consider the interests of her students.

> The best teaching comes from something that is not often planned or designated. You can't say, "Today we're going to do such and such." You have to take the spontaneity of the children and go with it. A lot of my planning comes from what happens and evolves. And learning has to come from kids.

Thus Sarah's constant vigil is to see that her students' interests as well as their successes are flexibly adhered to.

> I do try to keep a daily plan. This reflects what I will try to do. However, the minute something comes along that's better than the plan is, I go for that. Or, if I'm teaching a concept and the kids don't get it, they're struggling, well then that's my next class. I will teach that differently tomorrow.

In retrospect, Sarah sees that a problem that she had encountered, and, she feels, new teachers continue to encounter, is a tendency to work too much on sophisticated teaching aids, but spend too little time interacting with students. The following statement she makes in terms of advice to new teachers from having come to this realization herself.

> You'll see young teachers picking up fancy teaching aids and working until two every night making games. Eventually they'll realize children are happy with very simple things. They don't need a lot of fancy games. They need a lot of room to explore. Therefore, don't take time away from the kids to make stuff. The kids need you. Talk with them. Visit with them. This is far more beneficial.

Sarah concludes this advice-giving by suggesting that, while she has found it more worthwhile interacting with her students instead of making curriculum gimmicks, teachers are better to use their students as resources. Thus students are involved, she adds, and this process eliminates a lot of unnecessary collecting of materials on the teacher's part.

> It's important to use your kids as resources. They can bring and/or make additional curricular materials.

The third skill that Sarah feels she developed due to curriculum rigidness was the ability to recycle her own curriculum material. Interestingly, while she had learned to flexibly adapt to student needs and interests, she found that this skill need not interfere with the creation of new learning activities. Both skills were possible, she found, as long as she was not caught up remanufacturing instructional materials. Rather, she found it better to establish her own curriculum core. The result was that she was able to reuse her own instructional materials, adapting them to the students, the time, and the place. She rationalized that spending a lot of time manufacturing instructional materials was educationally unsound. It eliminated much of the learning experiences that she wished the students to have. Therefore, she decreased her earlier tendency to "reinvent the wheel", saving time and effort on her part, and adapting material she had used before, again and again.

> You don't have to be totally organized and remake plans of content. You have to reorganize and refine, but never totally. Your core can remain stable. Sometimes it's just the fringes that you have to change. So once you have planned a unit, you are going to reuse it. Much of what you have accumulated then can be recycled. But you change it for the children you are presently teaching.

Finally, Sarah learned that within the scope of recycling old curriculum material, it was best to do so by arranging her curriculum experiences into themes. Using themes allowed her a greater range in teaching than before. For example, she found that in one class she would have a wide range of reading levels, requiring her to build up materials and approaches to adapt to this student variance. Therefore, Sarah could move to another grade level with relative ease because her curriculum materials and activities were flexible and did not need to be thrown out.

> If you teach by themes this material can be reused at different grade levels. You tend to accumulate content that can be adapted in this way because of the various ability levels that children are at, reading for example. Therefore, you never throw out present content, you add onto or delete.

Over the years Sarah seems to have developed a sophisticated set of procedures to deal with rigid curriculum expectations by authorities. Yet, Sarah reports that the authorities seemed to have altered their expectations of her over the years, as well. Her gratitude, as stated in the following excerpt, bears this out.

> There are the have-to's in teaching. But they're nothing compared to what they used to be. They've eased up so much. It used to be there was somebody from above saying, "You can't teach phonics. You can't do that." Now you're free to do your own curriculum writing. As long as you stay within the limits of the curriculum you can teach it anyway you want.

Sarah acknowledges, as well, that the guidelines are flexible enough for her and, at the same time, they are explicit enough for teachers needing more guidance.

> We're very lucky because we have so much more flexibility than we used to have. Yet there are enough guidelines for beginning and/or more structured teachers to follow. It's easier to teach curriculum than it's ever been because you've got all this stuff available to you.

One more point of importance needs to be added before closing this vignette. Sarah has never questioned the right of curriculum authorities to establish parameters to guide her. As she points out, the first thing she looks to in situations which are new to her is the provincial government curriculum. Having done this she then applies what she knows about the grade and subject. Therefore, in every sense of the word Sarah's view of her meeting curriculum expectations is a "merger" between her own views and her perception of the views of curriculum authorities.

> If I was given a new grade to teach, the first thing I would do is go to the curriculum guides and find out what you are to cover. Then I would go back to my data bank saying, "What have I got to use to develop this curriculum but using this approach."

In summary, Sarah had originally felt that the official curriculum had been too rigid to realistically adhere to. For that reason she took steps to rectify this situation by developing three skills. First, she learned to internalize aims and objectives. She internalized according to time periods longer and more reasonable to her situation. By internalizing she was able to eliminate what she considered to be a lot of needless writing. Second, she learned to adapt more flexibly to the needs and interests of her students. By becoming more flexible in this way, she feels she was able to eliminate learning situations which were of little use to her students. Third, she learned how to recycle curriculum material that she had used before, fitting this material to the grade level she was teaching. By recycling she was able to eliminate the tendency to continuously replan for each learning experience. Fourth, Sarah gratefully acknowledges that curriculum authorities have become progressively less rigid in their expectations of classroom teachers over the years. These four points, she concludes, have helped to make what was once a problem a highly desirable situation.

(For details see Figure 14, Overcoming Curriculum Rigidity.)

Discussion

Critical Conflicts Perceived by Sarah

According to Sarah, she has fewer difficulties with conflicting expectations of her role than she had earlier in her career. She feels that most of her past conflicts have diminished considerably, with few new ones emerging. Currently there appear to be only three areas of conflict which cause her some anxiety. The first conflict concerns her general perception of her students and their parents. She claims that both of these groups are becoming more materialistic and narcissistic than their counterparts were years before. She feels students and their parents are more critical of the teachers who are trying to serve them. She adds, they are also less committed about taking positive action themselves. She extends these points by further suggesting that the needs and interests of both students and parents are more diverse than ever before. They seem to lack common convictions. Thus, Sarah feels, to listen to the complaints of students, and particularly their parents, can be confusing and inevitably lead her to frustration. Yet, while Sarah considers such conflicts as having the potential for anxiety-raising, she does not consider them to be extreme as compared with conflicts experienced earlier in her career.

The second area which causes Sarah continued conflict involves her interaction with other teachers. Earlier in her career,

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Sarah felt that there was too much pressure to rigidly ahere to provincial curriculum guidelines.	Sarah felt a little angered that there seemed to be such rigidity.	Over time Sarah feels she became skilled in three areas to adopt to curriculum expectations. She learned to internalize plans, eliminating unneeded paperwork. Second, she learned to alter her plan according to the students' needs and interests, thus eliminating irrelevant learning situations. Third, she learned to recycle curriculum material, eliminating the tendency to create new materials each time.	Sarah felt this was a satisfactory adaptation.	Sarah became more aware of her skill and power as a teacher to adapt curricula. She realized she had caused much of the rigid expectations herself.
		Sarah felt that, in time, there was less governmental emphasis on close adherence to the curriculum guidelines.	Sarah felt grateful for this development.	Sarah learned to appreciate curriculum guides. For herself, they were to be taken implicitly. For beginning and/or structured teachers they could be taken explicitly. Sarah does not question the right of authorities to establish a standard curriculum. However, she sees the authorized curriculum as a merger with her own.

Figure 14. Overcoming Curriculum Rigidity.

Sarah reports, her apparent confidence and unorthodox teaching style were misunderstood by her peers. The result of such misunderstandings was that she became alienated from her peers. Over time direct conflicts with other teachers reduced considerably. However, remnants of the subsequent dissatisfaction she felt toward her peers continues to exist, this time in broader terms. With the exception of her immediate peers Sarah's experience tells her that the general state of the field is far below what it should be. It is her opinion that few teachers attempt to climb toward the ultimate status of exceptionality. They "do their job but they don't go the extra mile", she says. Such mediocrity in the profession frustrates Sarah. Yet, while she is mildly anxious about this conflict, she acknowledges her own exceptionality and can live with the faults of others, feeling grateful that she sees a better way of being a teacher than the majority of her peers. Thus the conflict related to other teachers, Sarah feels, exists as a reality in her own mind but is in no way as intense as earlier peer-related conflicts.

The third area which causes her continued conflict, Sarah feels, relates to her ability to handle the multiple roles of teacher, mother, and wife. Sarah's earlier sense of guilt, because she was unable to fulfill all domestic responsibilities, has virtually disappeared. However, guilt has been replaced by fatigue, caused more recently by her tendency to emphasize her teacher role. Yet again, while she does feel locked into her work at times, the frustrations caused by a tendency to overwork, she feels, is relatively mild. Therefore, Sarah accepts the tendency to overwork herself, smiling as she states, "I am my own worst enemy". This latter statement, she agrees, is said with a certain note of pride.

There is little doubt in Sarah's mind that, earlier in her career, conflicting role expectations were substantial. Now they have largely diminished, with only three rather major conflicts remaining. Further, she states that no new major conflicts have emerged. The guilt, the frustrations, the fatigue, and the alienation, as prevalent initial reactions to conflicts, have also diminished, she reports. Such claims might seem to imply that all sensations related to role conflicts have disappeared. However, Sarah also indicates that she is not entirely free of conflict. As a matter of fact, she claims, she is still vulnerable to the old conflicts. Her following statement confirms this vulnerability. However, this statement also indicates that Sarah feels that she has become skilled at actively managing these conflicts.

> I'm still vulnerable. You could almost say that the old fears surface. I still worry a little bit but I can rationalize. At one time I couldn't rationalize. For instance, I would just worry, worry, worry and think of, "Gosh, you know, I'd better do this. Or, I'd better do that". Now it doesn't take long to squelch the worry and the old fears because you know you've been there before and you know that that is not worth worrying about.

Sarah's ability to eliminate her worries will be discussed next.

Conflict Management Strategies Used by Sarah

As alluded to above, while Sarah perceives conflicts as having diminished over the years, she has shown that she is capable of using a number of strategies to deal satisfactorily with conflicts. Analysis of the data, found in the vignettes, indicates that she depends largely on five major strategies.

The first of these strategies is where Sarah waits for better conditions to emerge. Some examples of waiting strategies were shown in Sarah's putting-up with difficulties related to lack of principal, parent, and peer support. Other examples of waiting related more to a seemingly rigid curriculum and an apparently overloaded time schedule involving home and school responsibilities. These problems Sarah has dealt with, in part, by letting them solve themselves. The success of her patience, Sarah recognizes, could only be measured years after her efforts. But the fruits were indeed there, as eventually others around her and the situations in which she existed altered more to her liking. This strategy, Sarah feels, has helped her deal with difficult situations in a way where she can continue teaching without prolonged anxiety.

The second of these strategies is "retreating". Retreating is, in a subtle way, different from waiting. Examples of retreating are where Sarah used a diary, kept away from the staffroom, and backed off from earlier collegial interaction. This strategy has been necessary, showing that despite the fact Sarah appreciates other adults, she could work in isolation from them. As with waiting, Sarah shows a great willingness to preserve the peace. However, the difference exists in her willingness to retreat from conflict, as opposed to patiently waiting for a conflict to subside, as described earlier. Sarah recognizes that retreating is a strategy with a temporary solution. Such a strategy, Sarah suggests, tends to be intolerable in the longterm because it calls for isolation from others. Therefore, it is an action which has to be eventually replaced by a more satisfying strategy.

The third strategy that Sarah uses to meet conflict is an anticipatory action. For instance, she often heads off potential problems before they occur. She does this by recruiting the support of parents, students, peers, her principal and other authorities. She nurtures her associations with people. The thought put into such nurturing is evident in the rules of etiquette she has established regarding professional territoriality and the rules of priority she has set regarding potential time conflicts, both at home and at school. Another example of Sarah eliminating problems before they arise is in the way she adapts official curriculum expectations. The procedures she uses to balance what seemed to her to be at one time conflicting expectations, reflects a considerable amount of forethought and compromise. This anticipatory strategy is preferred by Sarah above and beyond the other alternatives she has found available to her in dealing with conflicting expectations. Taking time to build alliances and to maintain support between herself and other key interactors has proven to Sarah to be well worth the investment in time and effort.

While Sarah usually eliminates possible conflicts before they happen, such a strategy is not always possible. Some conflicts occur even after she has taken steps to assure herself that there will be none. When she is faced with what she considers to be unreasonable expectations, Sarah tries to quickly eliminate the problem. For instance, she is quick to argue her case with parents or students who seem to be out-of-line. She confidentally holds to her views on such occasions, feeling that she has given-in enough to others at this point.

Finally, Sarah uses a fifth strategy to manage conflict when she is faced with expectations that persist, even after she has already done everything she feels she could do. When all has been done, when she feels she can do no more, she often looks for the sympathy of others. At this stage she is not so interested in intervention. Instead, she simply wants "someone else's shoulder to cry on". Or, given that no on else can help, Sarah simply resigns herself to the fact that not every situation of conflict is entirely within her ability to control. For that reason she protects herself by accepting that the "old worries" are not worth the effort. They are harmful, robbing her of energy which she tries to invest in other pursuits.

> Worry just eats at your like a cancer. It's like an emotional cancer. And it just kinda digs at you. And if you let that get to you, then it can cause all sorts of terrible things. And the main thing is that it is such a waste of energy. And you don't have the energy then that you value.

Sarah has suggested that she feels less role-related conflict now than years previously. She has also suggested that the "same old worries" re-emerge, but that she can now manage conflicts quicker and with less fuss than she could as a novice teacher. The five strategies which have been discussed appear to exist as a repertoire from which Sarah selects appropriate actions for dealing with conflicts. Sarah seems to draw on these five strategies regularly, continuously maintaining a fair amount of control over various expectations of her role.

Future Orientation towards Role Expectations

Analysis of the data suggests that Sarah's outlook toward future role expectations has changed in three major areas. These areas are discussed under the headings: A position of confidence; A clarification of rewards; and A clarification of responsibilities.

A position of confidence

Sarah emerges from experiences of role conflict, like the ones described in the vignettes, confident that she can continue to deal with future role conflicts. The reason for her confidence seems to derive from her view that few new conflicts have emerged in recent years. Thus she is willing to assume that, in all likelihood, she will not be faced with conflicts of a type that she has not dealt with before. As mentioned earlier, she feels that the "same old worries reemerge". But, she adds, she is able to dispense with these conflicts more quickly and efficiently than ever before. Therefore, Sarah claims, she is well-equipped to manage role conflict. She has become adept at tactfully balancing the expectations of others, and yet representing her own expectations. Being able to balance these expectations has earned her the approval of other key interactors, as she seems able to impress them that they are being fairly represented by her. Such approval seems to have, in a sense, built up her confidence about her teaching capabilities over the years. This confidence, she claims, is why she no longer needs outward shows of approval by others.

A clarification of rewards

The second major outcome of Sarah's experiences in dealing with conflicting expectations involves an apparent clarification of what Sarah feels she can reasonably expect from her teaching in the future. She feels that there are two major areas of reward. Without a doubt, the first and greatest reward Sarah presently gets from teaching is from direct interaction with her students. She speaks of the joy of watching them learn and grow. She also speaks of the gratitude she feels for being able to share special experiences with them. She is watchful for "magic" moments, savouring them for some time. Sarah puts a great deal of effort into her teaching. Thus she expects students to respond to these efforts. Their response to her and what she expects, then, is what she most prizes. There are no other prevalent motives competing for equal attention during the school day. In a sense, she sees herself and her own interests fusing together with those of her students. Her students are at school to work and grow. With this sense of growth, Sarah intends working and growing right alongside of them.

Sarah has always seen herself as an exceptional teacher. This point relates to the second area of Sarah's teaching rewards. Even during her early years she could see that her efforts and skills tended to set her in a class of her own, compared with many of her peers. With experience her zeal to be exceptional has not diminished, and her teaching skills, she suggests, have become more finely tuned. Because of these points she feels a tremendous sense of prestige within the teaching community. It is important to reiterate, though, that while she appreciates direct approval by administrators, other teachers, and parents, she no longer needs this approval like she did years before. Her real prize exists as being viewed as exceptional among her peers. The best way of gleaning such a reward is by being asked (as she often is) to speak to, or demonstrate for, other groups of teachers about various aspects of teaching. Sarah adds, she also is able to "spread the gospel" of good teaching and learn new things from other teachers herself.

The pride and prestige Sarah feels for her teaching are not set apart from those things which are important to her in her personal life. While she does recognize a need to protect the latter from the former, she sees being a teacher, a mother, and a wife as one cohesive whole. Therefore, her rewards are measured in a wholistic sense. Such a point is particularly evident in the way Sarah enthusiastically throws herself into activities whether they be at school, home, or elsewhere.

Finally, Sarah feels that she has a clearer view of what she can reasonably expect from ther teaching efforts. She sees that she has migrated strongly toward intrinsic satisfactions over the years seeing extrinsic rewards as temporary and less meaningful. She also feels she has become better at setting up situations, enhancing the appearance of rewards. She is extremely satisfied with her present teaching situation, making the present the most rewarding time she has felt from her teaching to date.

A clarification of responsibilities

The third major outcome of Sarah's having dealt with conflicting expectations involves an apparent clarification of what she feels she should put into her teaching in the future. Her responsibilities are closely aligned with the major rewards, stated previously.

Along with her own family Sarah feels extremely responsible for the welfare of her grade one students. She sees that her students need to be challenged to strive, and in this effort she is most vigorous. She feels students need a values oriented curriculum, one which does not necessarily water down core subjects such as reading, arithmetic, science, and so on. She suggests that students need activities that are interesting and meaningful. Such expectations require imaginative content and teaching style, she says. Therefore, Sarah suggests, integration of subject areas through themes is very important. For that reason she relies heavily on drama, art, and learning centres in her teaching.

The welfare of Sarah's students is actually more than a territorial responsibility. In a sense, she adopts her students. They become an extension of her own family. She does not see her association with them as temporal in the sense that June will be the last of them and a new group of students will arrive in September. Rather, she views them, not only as grade one students, but she sees them in their future, in grade two, grade three, and on to adulthood. She craves their love, affection, and effort. Sarah hopes she will not only receive these things from her students now but for years to come, as well. Evidence of long term reciprocation has been given in the many visits she receives from ex-students, some of whom are in elementary school and others who are considerably older.

Sarah's sense of responsibility regarding her students has heightened over the years. As in a marriage, some naivety about the union has gone now but what remains, to Sarah, is a deeper, almost frightening sense of responsibility, calling for much trust and dedication.

> You realize the responsibility that is yours even though your motives have always been to extract the most you can out of the kids. The teacher is to expose the most that she can. As you teach you realize the burden is heavier, the responsibility is so, so important. And you're naive. It's like a marriage. When you first enter into it, it's kind of like a beautiful relationship. And the longer you go into marriage you realize the intense responsibility. I don't think any eighteen year old realizes the responsibility of marriage. And teachers are the same. They enter teaching and it's like nursing, or any dedicated profession. Therefore, as you go further along the way, you realize your responsibilities are that much.

Sarah also feels a keen sense of responsibility toward advising and reassuring parents. She feels many parents are as confused and lost as their own children. Even though conflicts may occur during interactions with parents, she feels they will eventually be grateful for her guidance.

Sarah feels an evangelical zeal about promoting good teaching form and philosophy to other teachers. She sees such promotion as a primary role responsibility. This type of work appears in the form of in-service workshops for teachers, work with interns and student-teachers, and generally her being available for requests to take part in various activities which might involve the betterment of the way teaching is done.

Closely related to the promotion of good teaching among her peers, Sarah recognizes the importance of maintaining good relations among staff members in the school. Such relations call for a respect for what other teachers know and do. It also calls for a sense of tact, to know when other teachers might accept help and when they will not.

Finally, Sarah has always recognized the authoritarian reality of the principal and other higher level officials. Because she and they have not always seen eye to eye, she has tended to remain distant from them. However, more recently, she has been recognized at various administrative levels for her outstanding abilities. This show of respect has tended to eliminate the philosophical alienation she once experienced. Now Sarah's opinion is often sought on certain matters by her principal and area superintendent, drawing her allegiance closer to them. Thus, Sarah has come to a sense of greater responsibility to these administrative personnel where promotion of good teaching style is concerned.

Sarah feels that her conflicts have diminished. Yet these same conflicts will re-emerge, she feels. She also feels confident in having an increased number of strategies to meet her conflicts. Further, successfully dealing with role-related conflicts has brought Sarah to a position of clarification of what are reasonable expectations of her teaching role by others and herself. Together these points form not only a retrospective position but a position which is proactive, one which gives Sarah an impression that she can balance expectations of her role to the satisfactions of others as well as to her own satisfaction.

CHAPTER VI

LUX

Introduction

Lux is sixty years of age. She has taught for a total of fifteen years, all of which have been with the same public board of education of a large city. During this time Lux has been a generalist classroom teacher, having had experience teaching grades one, two, and three children. She is presently teaching grade one.

Lux was born and raised in a rural prairie setting. During that time she enjoyed being active in choirs, drama groups, girl guides, Y.M.C.A., boys' and girls' fairs, and Sunday school as a pupil, and later as a teacher. Approximately thirty years ago she married and moved to the city of her present residency. For the next fifteen years she immersed herself in the task of raising a family that would eventually include seven children.

Lux's decision to enter education was not entirely a preplanned transition from motherhood to teacherhood. While she had been raised to, as she describes it, "venerate" teachers, she had never held such "lofty aspirations" for herself. It was not until all of her children were well established in school that she began to contemplate a change from her domestic situation. She knew she wanted to learn and have the opportunity to grow intellectually. The university could offer such an opportunity. Because teachers were needed then, she entered the Faculty of Education, ready to embark on a new career and a new adventure.

The researcher met Lux through a series of associates. A friend in graduate studies knew of a principal who was particularly amenable to the idea of research activities being carried on in his school. In talking with this principal by telephone, the researcher found that the principal was indeed keen to have a staff member involved in such a study and did have one teacher who might fit the criteria described.

Later, the researcher received a telephone call from the teacher the principal had nominated. The teacher was Lux. The researcher was particularly struck, at this time, by the quiet thoughtful-sounding voice on the other end of the line. She seemed so gentle. After having a brief explanation of the project, Lux replied, "Well, yes I would be very interested in such a project. But I'm not sure I would be the best choice for you." This type of humility, the researcher was to find, was very typical of Lux. Despite Lux's apparent uncertainty she did agree to meet the next week to discuss the project further.

A week later the researcher found himself standing at the foot of a stone stairway that led upwards to what, in all likelihood, was one of the oldest schools in the city. As he entered the building he was struck with how similar this place was to the building where he had gone to school many years before. The halls were wide and the ceiling was high. The floors were hardwood. These features contributed to a somewhat austere look to the place.

The researcher was assisted by a receptionist who sent him down to the staffroom. In the meantime Lux was called on the intercom and told of her visitor. In a moment Lux entered the staffroom, extending her hand to welcome the researcher. She had a puzzled expression about her. The reason, to the researcher's embarrassment, was that he had arrived an hour early. School was still in session. Lux was just about to take her group in for gym class. Feeling foolish and wanting to make up for this faux pas, the researcher offered to take the class, as he had served as a physical education consultant at one time. Lux was quick to accept this offer.

After the demonstration lesson the students were filed back to class for a final activity. Later, Lux commented on the researcher's lesson, saying, "It is pretty well what I do in my class already. But it's nice to be able to confirm what you're doing with others". These comments, the researcher was to find, were also very typical of Lux.

When the students were dismissed Lux and the researcher remained in the classroom to talk. But before they did talk, she briskly moved from desk to desk collecting materials, storing them on a shelf that was already overloaded with other student work. She apologized saying, "I'll be right there. I just have to get these things together." But as the researcher waited Lux excused herself, again leaving the room. Soon she returned, carrying an adult-sized chair. She insisted that the researcher sit in it and that she would use a child-sized chair, because, she explained, "I am quite used to this furniture".

Finally, the researcher and Lux turned to talk about the research project. Again, the researcher explained the details.

After that the researcher and Lux moved freely into a variety of topics, related to Scotland, the prairies, metaphysics, family, and teaching. This ability to move from topic to topic with such ease later proved to be an asset in terms of freeing the conversation from possible stagnation. But it also presented difficulties to both conversants in terms of remaining focused on one item long enough to establish anything concrete. Nevertheless, one very important element to a good interview was established during this meeting. A sense of trust was formed. Because of this trust time would show that disclosure would not be a problem for the researcher.

At the end of this meeting Lux had only one reservation, the same hesitation she had expressed earlier. She still wondered if she could really be of any use to the study. The researcher reassured her that she would. Thus, at that point, they agreed on a date for their first formal interview.

Vignettes of Conflict

Lux's encounters with role-related conflicts reach back into the past as well as exist in the present. As the vignettes will show, these conflicts and the way she chooses to deal with them are uniquely hers. The following six vignettes are stated in Lux's terms. They are: Striking a Balance between Personal Interests and the Needs of Others; Altering Philosophical Views to Improve Student Response; Feeling Relatively Safe from Parent Criticism; Overcoming Potential Isolation from Peers through Spiritual Association; Complying with the Principal's Wishes;

and Striking a Compromise between Curriculum Authorities and Curriculum Reality.

Striking a Balance between Personal Interests and the Needs of Others

When Lux began her teaching career she remembers having experienced some difficulties leaving home each day. There were times that she left home feeling uneasy, sensing that she was leaving some things unsettled. While this conflict, she suggests, was mild, she did feel that it presented a substantial enough problem that had to be solved. The answer, she found, called for her to hold herself more stringently to being sure that domestic duties and other family responsibilities were attended to and, if problematic, solved before leaving home for school. Setting this goal as a priority meant that she had to use her time at home well, attending to each domestic task and even anticipating possible unforseen domestic problems well in advance of her leaving for school.

As time passed, Lux found that this conflict diminished. While it re-emerged periodically, her efforts to overcome feelings of guilt and anxiety, because of unsettled things at home, seemed to be more successful than before. The following comment reflects her satisfaction with this situation, showing that her intention is to leave "all in light" at home so that she is able to, in clear conscience, concentrate on and enjoy her school day.

> When I leave home each day I try to see things as surrounded by light. I find this reassuring and it allows me to focus on things at school. So I generally can forget about home when I'm at school. Once I'm here and involved in the school day, I know that things are well at home or with others. And that is turned off.

Besides improved home management, there was another reason for Lux feeling relief from anxieties related to home. Her children were growing up and leaving home. At one time seven children took up the majority of her day. Now this responsibility was being lessened considerably. However, the fact that her children were growing up, freeing Lux to do other things, was eventually countered by a twist of fate. Lux's husband was involved in an accident. The accident left him unable to continue work. Therefore, Lux, out of necessity, found that she had become the main bread winner, rather than second income earner, as had been the case previously. Lux suggests that the financial pressures that this situation brought on her were slight. However, having her husband at home called for more of a time commitment to him. Therefore, while Lux shared a greater amount of time with her husband, the increase in time did, once again, put some pressure on her during her school day. For that reason it became essential for Lux to put in a precise and rather limited amount of time at school each day. While she had at one time been forced to use her time better at home, she was now being forced to better use time while at school. The following statement gives an indication of the timeline that Lux began, and continues, to work by.

> I do keep a rather precise timeline. My husband drops me off at school between 7:30 a.m. and 7:45 a.m. This gives me time to prepare for the day. He picks me up between 4:00 p.m. and 4:15 p.m. This necessitates efficient use of my noon break and the time after school.

Another conflict that Lux had to face during her career needs description at this time because of its relationship to the new limitations, mentioned above. This conflict involved Lux's career aspirations. As she became aware of what was available to teachers in the field of education, she could see that a school promoting wholistic development of children, like a Waldorf-type school, was really where she would rather be. However, because of her husband's condition, transportation difficulties, and her advanced age she felt that such aspirations would have to be set aside. Lux's disappointment at having to set aside an important career goal, however, did not cause her to spend time regretting the conditions of her life. Instead, she accepted things as they were, deciding to pursue a wholistic teaching approach at her own school and in her own way. Presently, she reports, her feelings of disappointment regarding this conflict are mild.

Lux feels relatively satisfied that she has been able to fairly represent her major role responsibilities of mother and wife. As mentioned earlier, while she enjoys being at school she has purposely limited the amount of time spent there. Yet, limiting time at school has not meant limiting the time she puts into school at home. Her duties at home, calling more for her presence than anything else, meant that she was quite free to continue her schoolwork at home. The following comment gives an indication of this. Here Lux suggests that she does not talk at home about schoolwork but that she does mentally deal with schoolwork at home regularly.

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> I may not talk about schoolwork all that much. But I do find myself, when I'm ironing, for example, thinking of something I could do. Or, a pupil comes to mind. I also frequently make phone calls to parents from home if it's something that I feel would be worthwhile communicating with them. Sometimes it is easier with them in that way, especially if they have little children, than having them come out to the school.

But being able to work on school-related topics at home, Lux recognizes, has also presented her with a problem. While it is true that she seems to have more time to spend both at home and on schoolwork, she feels she is often wasteful of her time. When at home Lux has been able to blend two responsibilities together. Because these duties are rather pleasant, she claims she has become totally lost in thought at times. She remembers, for instance, being particularly fascinated by one school project.

> Earlier I found some work so absorbing I worked through the night.

But this occurrence was not only once. Lux recognizes that she has always had a tendency to be this way.

> I find if I'm interested in something of a somewhat creative nature I can totally lose track of time.

As well, Lux recognizes that it is not only her own projects that cause her to be so totally absorbed in thought. The very way she converses with others, wherever she is, can cause the same thing. She is somewhat critical of her tendency to be this way.

> I feel I am a bit of a plodder. I can get too involved in fascinating but tangenting conversations, for instance, and have been known to forget about time altogether.

Lux's tendency to be a plodder presently stands as a view of herself that she feels should be altered. Therefore, she continues to seek out opportunities to better manage her time, adding efficiency to her day that she feels is not quite good enough yet. She has taken, and continues to take, special steps toward such self-betterment. First, Lux continues to maintain a precise timeline at school and tries not to be too caught up in unproductive tangents, whether they be special projects or conversations. Second, she consented to give a presentation to other teachers on time-management. In this case, she explains, she gave the presentation, not so much because it was a strength of hers, but because she might improve in this area herself.

> I volunteered to do a presentation to some teachers on time-management. I figured that this would force me to think on the topic. While I have my poor days I found this experience of focusing on time-management benefitted me. It is, simply put, an area that is not my forte. I'd love to master its management.

A third step that Lux has taken toward becoming a better manager of time has been to talk to others about this topic. For example, the researcher presented a written description about two very different types of teachers regarding time-management. Lux read these, then described them to some other teachers, looking for other views. She found the other teachers had varying opinions about the management types. The following excerpt from Lux's transcripts has been provided at length to show how she used the ideas of her peers to eventually work out her own conclusion.

> The talk tended to emphasize two opposing traits, rigid organization and flexible continuous immersion. Another teacher I spoke to about the teacher models chose a very people oriented ideal. While she agreed that she would like to eliminate school thoughts from her personal life,

> sometimes she didn't really see that she could. Another teacher I spoke with chose the organizational oriented teacher as her ideal. She is already very well organized but claims she has trouble shutting school off at home. Often enough, school ideas come up in the evenings or on weekends. She would like to shut out school-type thoughts during her home time. The third teacher I spoke to about these models suggested a school needs both kinds of people to get an overall balance. But eventually the three agreed that each teacher should have a few of the traits from both. Still, two teachers generally leaned toward the well-organized but rigid type of teacher and two (Lux included) toward the people oriented but continuously involved teacher.

Therefore, after hearing the views of others, Lux accepts that, given the choice of types, she would choose to remain people oriented. If this meant remaining a bit of a plodder and continuing to pursue conversations in the way she had done before, then she could accept that she was not too far away from the way she wanted to be at the present.

> Given a choice between teacher qualities of high organization or people orientation I would definitely take the latter.

Nevertheless, Lux feels assured that perfection is never gained but always worth endeavouring for. To affirm this notion she looks to Robert Browning"s poem, Andrea del Sarto.

> One has to believe in possibility thinking. As Browning said, "Ah but a man's reach should exceed his grasp or what's a heaven for." You have to have the ideal first and something to strive for or you can't possibly attain betterment.

So Lux's search to become a better manager of role responsibilities, and therefore time itself, continues on. However, now she does so with a greater sense of satisfaction that she is closer to an acceptable goal than she had sensed before. (For a detailed summary see Figure 15, Striking a Balance between Personal Interests and the Needs of Others.)

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Early in Lux's career she found it mildly difficult to leave home for school. There were times she felt pressed by situations at home that were not yet handled.	During such times Lux felt uneasy.	Lux worked hard to be assured that "all was in light" at home before leaving home. Doing this meant better time management and putting a high priority on domestic responsibilities.	The problem became more relieved.	Lux felt that her teaching need not suffer as much due to lack of domestic organization.
		Lux's children were growing up, helping to relieve this problem.	In time, Lux found she was able to become more immersed with her work, as she wished, without feeling anxious about home.	
As years passed, despite the fact that Lux's family has grown up, domestic responsibilities pressed her. This pressure was largely due to her husband's medical condition.	Lux found the pressure an addition to her role responsibilities from before. Yet, she considered this pressure mild.	Lux and her husband kept a rigid time schedule, thus allowing both home and school duties to be represented.	The rigid time schedule was acceptable to Lux.	Lux recognized the importance of meeting certain responsibilities of home and of school.
		Upon deeper thought regarding this conflict Lux concluded that, while she would continue to try to be a better manager of time and represent all her role responsibilities, she was presently doing well enough.	This rationale left Lux reasonably satisfied.	Lux recognizes that management is not one of her fortes, therefore it calls for regular attention.
Because of her husband's medical condition and her age, Lux felt that she was unable to take on new activities in teaching.	Lux was disappointed.	Lux accepted this situation as "part of life."	Lux reports that her disappointment lessened.	Lux felt a confirmation in her own mind that some aspirations in life simply had to be forfeited in lieu of certain responsibilities.

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Figure 15. Striking a Balance between Personal Interests and the Needs of Others.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
While Lux became reasonably satisfied that she was satisfactorily dealing with home responsibilities, she was all the more free to immerse herself in schoolwork while she was at home. This time she found enjoyable but it magnified another problem. She found she was a plodder, wasting time.	This realization caused Lux to feel somewhat dissatisfied with herself.	Lux, always on the lookout to improve herself, studied time management, discussed it with peers, and even gave workshops.	This improvement helped to relieve Lux's dissatisfaction with herself.	Lux continues to place a high priority on self-improvement.

Figure 15 -- continued.

Altering Philosophical Views to Improve Student Response

This vignette will show that Lux has always had to deal with student-related conflict. While such a conflict has diminished recently, it still exists as something she has to regularly address.

In order to best explicate the source of Lux's student-related conflicts, it is best to begin by considering her childhood. Lux was brought up in a household where sharing thoughts around the table was a favourite activity. All members of the family, spurred-on by Lux's mother, delighted in the enjoyment of intelligent conversation. Reflective thought was shared, particularly after church sermons when Lux's mother called everyone together to talk. These times Lux fondly remembers. To this day she takes great pleasure in exchanges with others that involve reflective thinking.

> My interest in reflection is largely due to my mother's influence. She enjoyed hearing speakers or sermons. And she enjoyed discussing them afterwards. To her that was part of the whole picture. So I have come to recognize an extreme pleasure, perhaps joy, in the pursuit of new ideas with someone else. I have been like this since I was a child. Our family used to explore new ideas a lot. Some of our most enjoyable conversations were like this.

Lux suggests that her later interest in going to university was largely influenced by this sense of joy in reflection and in pursuit of new ideas. But teaching, at that time, was not yet foremost in her mind.

> Mostly I just wanted to go and learn things. And it was that teaching was an area where they were encouraging people to go. So there I went.

Lux even remembers that her early interests in education were not because she was preoccupied with young children. Her first teaching interests were actually to work at the high school level. However, for practical reasons, she turned to early childhood education.

> My interest in association with others was not only for five and six year olds. It continued on because originally I thought I was going to be a high school teacher. Then I realized that I was so far behind in terms of course content, like twenty-two years out of high school. I didn't have a background to go into chemistry, physics, etcetera. I thought there were so many new developments that it would be overwhelming. So then I decided to go to the elementary route. And then I decided to go the early childhood route.

So Lux's choice to teach young children came to her as a matter of practicality. However, as she points out, it did not matter what grade level she chose. One way or another, she was bound and determined to find stimulating work at whatever school level she taught. Overall, she suggests, her present situation with young children has turned out very well for her.

> But I don't think the grade level mattered. If I had been younger it might have been different. As it turned out, maybe this was the best choice for me.

Finally, regardless of the reasons that brought Lux to work with young children, she claims that once immersed in her work she lacked no sense of commitment to these young people. As she embarked on her new career, she recalls, her hopes were to spark their young lives in a way similar to the way her own life had been sparked years before. Her goal was to share with her students the exhilaration and joy of exploring new ideas.

> I would like to think that I am a spark in my students' lives and that I can really get things going for them in school.

But as Lux began teaching she became aware that, for some reason, her students did not appreciate that learning was an exciting adventure. For some time she felt uneasy about their apparent lack of enthusiasm towards what she calls the "realm of ideas". Finally, the answer became clear. The problem, she reasoned, was within herself. The uneasiness she felt was due to the way she had been treating her students. That, in turn, was a reflection of a faulty view of these young people. For instance, she remembers that earlier in her career she tended to view students as little people who needed to be informed of the ways of the world. But she felt she alone, as the teacher, had to determine what those ways were and how to convey such things to the students. However, Lux concluded that this view was based on a one-way communication model of teaching. It was hierarchal with the teacher at the top and the student at the bottom. The result of this hierarchy, she was beginning to see, was that students were receivers of information with herself as the sender. Such rigid one-way communication meant that the most active person in the classroom would be the teacher, she reasoned. To Lux, the students, at best, could only be passive learners. Such a faulty view, Lux began to see, was a remnant of her training. She could see that she had simply been accepting that there was only one way of viewing her students. But she could no longer accept this view. Lux felt too much dissonance. One-way learning could not be the only way, she felt.

Lux reasoned that she could get more from her students than she was, but the answer was not clear. Thus she turned to professional reading, talking with peers, taking part in workshops, as well as reflecting further by keeping a diary. Gradually, through these measures, she suggests, she began to see a new way. This new way she describes as "a shift to a horizontal view of her students". Within this horizontal view, she explains, it was necessary to begin to see the child as complete and whole, rather than incomplete, as before.

> I would say I have shifted to a brand new view of the child. In the past I tried to adhere to completing the incomplete child metaphor but realize now it doesn't fit. My thinking and planning regarding all of my teaching begins here with this new horizontal view.

Viewing the child from a horizontal vantage called for other new assumptions. For instance, where she had felt students were limited in what they could do themselves, she now assumed that students were their own best teachers and should be held responsible for their own learning.

> I don't say to the child, "You are the little one. You have to learn everything." Rather I say, "I can help you. But you are your own best teacher." The teacher can only do so much and then that student has to start.

Another assumption Lux made was that she and her students were in partnership together. In a sense, they are learning partners. Together she and her students could grow.

> A teacher should help students take responsibility for themselves. Without this, students, and all people for that matter, will not learn from their mistakes. Students are my equals in terms of growing and experiencing together. We mutually experience. And we share. My role is not just that of helping them grow. It is one of helping us grow.

She further rationalizes her point about mutually experiencing by arguing that all life calls for both giving and taking. Without giving and taking between people, she concludes, one party, or both, will be restricted in some fashion.

> We tend to have teaching a one-way flow. And I think all life, be it teaching, be it any job, be it family, whatever it is, it has to have a give and take to be a satisfactory condition. Because if one is always doing the giving the other either feels restricted or they become selfish or self-centred.

Another assumption that Lux came to, in viewing her students and and the way she was to work with them, regarded her level of expectation of these young people. Because children are whole and complete, she reasons, they can make their own sense of the world. Therefore, she adds, it is important for her and other teachers to encourage students to listen inwardly to themselves. Thus, her job as a teacher is to facilitate learning experiences, allowing children to expand their awareness of the world. For such a reason children need not always be offered activities meant to appeal "down" to a child's level. Rather, she further reasons, often activities should be offered them that are new and unfamiliar. Children, Lux continues, have the intelligence within themselves to make sense of such activities. They simply need to be challenged by being allowed to experience activities in a wholistic fashion.

> A teacher should encourage young people, all people, to listen inwardly to their own thoughts and feelings. Therefore, I feel teachers don't have to appeal only to a child's level of experience. To me it's very important that you don't talk down. You draw them up.

Lux gave an example of the type of activity she likes to provide for her students. This example suggests that she feels her students are not offered activities at a higher level at home.

> I was pleased to have an excellent dance and drama group in the other day. I believe students need to see the best. You have to expose them, however briefly, because that's likely all they'll get. They're not going to get that at home. They're not likely to watch this type of thing on television.

Lux provides further explanation to her view of a wholistic approach to teaching. Rather than holding students responsible for everything, she calls on them to make sense of such an experience, as described above, from their own points of view.

> To my mind the children certainly wouldn't understand all the performance. But they could grasp a bit here and there. The dance and drama troupe presented a range of performances but each done in a very professional manner. They were superb. And the performance was giving the students ideas. And for me, I was able to say, "Do you remember what happened?" And I can draw on that for extra background.

The result of Lux's new view, she claims, has been quite encouraging. Her students seem to respond much more satisfactorily, as compared to earlier. They now seem, she adds, more interested in participating actively in the various learning opportunities that she offers to them.

Looking for further evidence to back her new views, Lux reminisces about teachers who have acted as facilitators of learning. The following excerpt was read from her journal.

> Outstanding teachers I have known have this view. It was as though they were the facilitators that helped bring out something of worth in me or in others. We need to emphasize mutual respect among all living beings. To gain respect you must give respect. Appreciation and love can perform magic. Therefore, teacher and learner are interdependent. Both grow together. This is an expression of universal love.

In closing, it would appear that the dissonance Lux once felt, because of what she considered as her faulty view of students, seems to have subsided. Such a diminishment is because of her efforts to alter her own view, rather than other circumstances related to this conflict. The methods to enhance Lux's introspection involved reminiscing about outstanding teachers, reading, and talking with others as well as writing regularly in a personal diary for further reflections and clarification. Lux's search has not ended. She continues exploring new concepts and testing her views. The following excerpt will attest to that fact. She speaks of a workshop dealing with children and learning that she had just attended.

> I found the theory very hard to grasp in the morning session but later a practical session helped clarify much. Yet, after some thought, I know why I was so uncomfortable with this presentation in the morning. It was because I had already taken on some givens from people whose works I had read or perhaps heard as speakers. And I had become comfortable with their model. And all of a sudden this clinician is giving me new ideas and they are going to shake up my former pattern a bit.

Therefore, as Lux has come to grips with inner dissonance regarding her view of students, she does not claim that conflict therein has entirely diminished. She has "much to learn", she claims. She is sure that it is correct to hold the child to be responsible for his/her learning and, in such a way, the child will respond to the teacher. But she is equally sure that effecting closure on her view of children is no longer viable. Everything is in a state of change, she argues, even her own views. Despite the fact that she might feel less comfortable due to this continuous change, it seems to be a necessity in her life if she is also to enjoy promoting exploration of new ideas, she explains. Thus Lux feels more and more sure that conflict regarding her views of students, learning, and her role as a teacher is relieved only in the active search for better answers. (For a detailed summary see Figure 16, Altering Philosophical View to Improve Student Response.)

Feeling Relatively Safe from Parent Criticism

This vignette describes a conflict with parents which Lux considers to be minor. However, she does not consider parents or their expectations to be minor. Rather, the importance of conflicts in this area has been reduced to make the prospects of such conflicts manageable.

Lux feels that she has enjoyed a good rapport with the parents of her students. She recalls only one incident which, she feels, might be considered as a conflict. It regarded a mother who was upset because Lux had sent a student home with an old reader. The mother, Lux remembers, was particularly critical of the reader, feeling that it was sexist.

> The only time I have felt pressure from a parent was when I sent home little reading books just in order that the children could have some materials at a level they could handle. And I received a question back, "Are you still using these antiquated things?" One mother was concerned that they weren't liberated enough. The women's role models were disturbing to her.

While concerned, Lux remembers, she was not daunted by the complaint. As far as she was concerned, the parent simply needed reassurance. Therefore, when the parent was next in the school, Lux asked her to come and see the new readers that the students were using. As a result of this meeting the mother was satisfied and Lux was able to continue on as before.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Lux did not sense any major conflicts with her students. Rather, the conflict, to her, was one where her existing view of students did not seem to fit reality. The way she interacted with her students did not seem to allow them to respond to her efforts in a satisfactory way.	Lux felt uneasy because she could not articulate this disagreement with her feelings.	Lux could see that the problem was an internal one. She searched for clearer, less dissonant views through talk with others, study, and writing.	Lux eventually found a better view of students, shifting her beliefs from those of the past and what she saw as being the norm. The dissonance was relieved.	This shift in views brought greater clarity to Lux. She believed in a "horizontal" view of children. Children should not be talked down to. Learning is an act calling for self-responsibility. Also, students and teachers need to mutually respond to each other, growing together. Lux feels confident that offering students the chance to be self-responsible is a move in the right direction.
But Lux began to realize that this new viewpoint was not likely going to be a final secure pedagogical position. New ideas were constantly challenging old ones.	This notion was disconcerting.	Lux began to accept that her search would be lifelong.	Lux became less dissatisfied with this realization.	Lux recognizes that her views about children are not rigid and set. They grow and are in a perpetual state of growth. She accepts that she will continue to meet with inner dissonance but that she will be able to face it internally as well.

Figure 16. Altering Philosophical View to Improve Student Response.

> I handled this by catching her at the school one day. I asked her if she could take just a moment. I wanted to show her some of the newer materials. She felt happier knowing that our little readers now have children of many different races and that it showed girls doing typically boy-types of things and boys cooking or something like that. So I think she felt a little better about it.

The conflict, described above, was handled with ease. Lux suggests that there are three reasons for this ease. First, she claims that she has always welcomed the opportunity to discuss her program and student welfare with parents. Over the years she has been given the impression by parents that they are satisfied with her teaching and their children's progress. On the whole, she adds, parents have usually accepted what she has done with their children or, if there were others who were dissatisfied, they did not speak of it.

> I have on a number of occasions, and whenever possible, welcomed the opportunity to discuss the program and my way of dealing with it. And to this point it has usually been accepted or parents don't seem to have said too much against it.

A second reason that Lux feels the conflict was handled with ease was because, despite her attempts to upgrade herself, she feels she has always been a fairly conservative teacher. What she has offered her students has not been the type of activities that would normally cause parents to criticize or complain about her teaching, she claims.

> I don't think that anything I do is that different. Therefore, I can't say I've run into parent criticism or complaint often.

The third reason for Lux feeling she can handle conflict, such as the parent complaint described above, involves the notion of approval. Lux claims that she does not need to receive parent approval. While, earlier in her career, parent approval may have been more important, she suggests, she has dispensed with parent approval as an important goal, feeling that approval can be a waste of effort. In realizing this she has concentrated her efforts all the more on her students, looking for measures of her success in these young people. Therefore, in a sense, Lux finds approval within herself. Further, because she feels that over-approval of parents is not so important anymore, she also feels that conflict with them can be diminished. The prospect of parent conflict does not intimidate Lux. She feels relatively free of any fear that might accompany complaints or criticisms by them. Such fears have diminished over the years as has her desire for parent approval.

> But I would be doing this, I think, I hope, for the value it would have for the student, not just for the sake of having someone pat me on the back. That, I guess, is a change that has come with the passing of years. I guess I've reached the point in my life where that kind of satisfaction doesn't mean anything. I think what means something now to me is if I feel that I've done a good job I don't care if anyone else knows about it. As long as I know this, what else is important? I seem to have found a happy view now where approval of parents and others is not so important and I can get on with helping students.

Yet, to Lux a new question arises from this discussion. She now wonders whether she interacts enough with the parents of her students. The following statement suggests that she might be in the process of altering her view regarding her interaction with parents.

> Maybe we haven't had enough opportunity to interact with parents. Or maybe they are not aware enough. They probably see us carrying on in the same manner as their teachers did a number of years ago.

Nevertheless, while a seed of doubt exists within her mind regarding the possible need to interact with parents, Lux continues to feel that parent-related conflict plays a relatively minor part in her daily activities. Minor because, she suggests, she has taken steps to reduce the sense of intimidation that might accompany conflict involving parents. (For a detailed summary see Figure 17, Feeling Relatively Safe from Parent Criticism.)

Overcoming Potential Isolation from Peers through The Use of Spiritual Association

This vignette describes a conflict that Lux experienced related to her involvement with other teachers. She indicates, that this conflict started early in her career and continues on today. However, she insists, the conflict is not particularly intense and that she has it well in hand.

As alluded to earlier, Lux's primary reason for entering the teaching field was because she felt teaching would offer her a chance to explore new ideas. Such an adventure in thought, she had hoped, would not only be with students. As well, she wanted to interact with her peers, who she assumed would be highly motivated to enter with her into what she calls "the realm of ideas", rather than "small talk" alone.

> I would have to say that I'm really more interested in the realm of ideas than in small talk. The interactions I enjoy most with people really deal with the realm of ideas rather than with personalities and everyday kind of topics. I find this type of higher level conversation

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Lux was criticized by a parent for using readers which were perceived to have sexist views.	Lux was concerned about the criticism.	Lux reassured the parent face-to-face. She showed the parent newer books that were the main readers.	Lux feels she handled this conflict with ease for three reasons: She has always welcomed the opportunity to discuss her program with parents. She feels she has always been a fairly conservative teacher. Lux feels she focuses on her students and has little need for parental approval. Lux felt the tension relieve.	Lux accepts that parents might get upset due to misunderstanding. Meeting criticism with patience is the appropriate response, she feels. Lux could see that real rewards of her teaching come directly from her students. As well, approval of her teaching had to be gotten from within.
But recently Lux began to wonder if she interacted enough with parents.	Lux began to doubt her present position.	No definite action has been selected as yet.	The doubt remains.	Lux may be undergoing a time of change regarding her interaction with parents.

Figure 17. Feeling Relatively Safe from Parent Criticism.

> rewarding. It puts you in the learner role. And I think that throughout our entire lives we're always, in a sense, learners and teachers. Thus whenever you interact with another person there is so much to be gained if you are a receptive learner.

However, Lux was disappointed to find that small talk tended to prevail with other teachers. It seemed that during the times she could interact with them (recess and noon hour periods, primarily) her colleagues looked to breaking away from intellectualizing instead of involvement in such an activity. Lux was disappointed when she came to this realization.

> Personally, I am willing and able to enter into a stimulating conversation at anytime, even during staffroom breaks. However, I have encountered lots of teachers who do not seem interested in exploring ideas. They seem content with small talk.

Such small talk, Lux reports, focuses on holidays and domestic interests. While she feels such topics are not particularly stimulating, she concedes that they may serve a purpose to her peers.

> Staffroom talk tends to involve a lot of reporting by staff members of their recent skiing trips, holiday jaunts, redecorating of their homes, through to such prosaic things as laundry and baking. However, I respect that with some other teachers this type of small talk may be necessary. For a lot of them I think the staffroom break is more than a refreshment break. It's a mental turn-off. So that, I think, fulfills a very important need for them.

While Lux recognizes that small talk could be useful to her peers, she found that such talk could also lead to a real "good exchange". Therefore, she entered such conversations, hopeful that they would act as an initial stage to more fruitful discussions. Further, Lux adds, she has been surprised to find that the small talk "stage" can be dispensed with quickly or even entirely at times.

> Indulging in small talk may sound like a contradiction but I feel it is often the only way that you often get to know people. That's often an initial stage. But every once in a while you meet someone who you sort of sense is interested in other things. There, it's almost as though you can skip and go on to different topics. And I find that very very stimulating as a listener.

Lux indulges in small talk with her peers, hopeful that higher level conversation will come from her patience. She reports that such a management technique is quite satisfactory to her. But there was, she still found, yet another problem related to her interacting satisfactorily with other teachers. Lux found that while many of her colleagues not only remained uninvolved in the exchange of general ideas during break times, they also seemed to lack interest in professionally related topics, even during times that were designated for such a purpose. Lux enjoys participating in professional development programs, when she can. She enjoys such activities either as a participant or as a leader. But, once again, she was disappointed by her peers' response to her enthusiasm.

> When I feel committed towards a new idea I usually like to share it with others. I have often been disappointed with results of my efforts to share with other teachers.

An example of this problem, Lux recounts, was when she was delegated as a language arts representative for a movement known as the Implementation of Integrated Language Arts Program (I.I.L.A.P.). She explains that she was called on to provide her school staff with special curricular materials and implementation assistance. She attempted the latter by talking with individual teachers, speaking at staff meetings, and holding a half day in-service workshop. The results of the workshop, Lux remembers, were disappointing. The other teachers seemed interested during the presentation, she remembers. But, as time passed, they showed little enthusiasm to implement the ideas from the workshop. Even though she was available, no one made any requests for additional information about the topic. Lux concluded that the other teachers were, for various reasons, simply not interested.

> After I had brought I.I.L.A.P., I don't know how many times, there was little or minor change. For that reason I got the impression that teachers were subtly saying things like: "Don't bother me; I couldn't care less; I have more than I can cope with now;" or, "They are always coming up with something new".

But rather than place the blame for the disappointing results on others, Lux looked to herself first. For instance, she felt that her presentation had not been interesting enough. Therefore, she concluded, she would have to find more interesting ways to introduce I.I.L.A.P. next time.

> Regarding my lack of success with promoting I.I.L.A.P. to the staff, I do not blame administrators or other teachers. I think I need to find more interesting ways to introduce this concept. So rather than putting the blame for my lack of success on them, I wish to be fair and will accept full responsibility.

Another reason for her lack of success in promoting I.I.L.A.P. to her peers, Lux suggests, is perhaps because she was not forceful enough.

> When committed I will go to considerable trouble in terms of time and effort to see an idea through. But I do not bulldoze nor am I aggressive. Perhaps I should be more forceful when I wish to share ideas.

Finally, Lux cites a third reason for her lack of success in promoting I.I.L.A.P. to her peers. She sees that she may have been seen as an interloper by some of the other teachers. Perhaps they had already made plans. What if they considered their own language arts program to be adequate already? Lux also remembered situations where others had tried to impose new program ideas on her when such ideas were not particularly convenient. Trying to see things from the viewpoint of her peers finally led her to conclude that even if her presentation were more interesting or more forceful, sharing an activity sometimes is simply untimely. Now she smiles, reminiscing about the times that she zealously undertook to share with others who were just not ready to be shared with.

> I can think of times when I've carried my ideas to others. This has been when I've had a touch of zeal for something or other and consequently I'd think, "Oh, wouldn't it be great if everybody could feel this way!" I guess that's one of the stages that a person goes through. First you have this initial zeal. You want to share it. Then, as with my case, and it has taken me a long time to learn, you eventually come to realizing you cannot force growth and development.

Yet the conflict that Lux has faced regarding peer interaction does not end here. She tells of another situation where conflict exists between herself and her peers. Once again, she argues that this conflict is not intense. Nevertheless, she admits, it is significant enough to talk about. The example used has been mentioned earlier. It involves a presentation made to the students of her school by a dance and drama troupe. When a program evaluation was done by each teacher, Lux reports, she was the only one to feel that the presentation was appropriate for elementary school children. Realizing that she was alone in her approval, Lux began to feel somewhat isolated from the others in terms of curricular priorities. For instance, as described earlier, it seemed that the other teachers tended to promote a "hierarchal" view. Lux approved of the dance and drama presentation because it would "draw-up" the children to a higher level. But the other teachers, she reports, would rather "talk-down" to their students by presenting programs for children only.

> The other teachers didn't seem to care much for this performance. Their feeling was that it was too classical and therefore too aloof for the kids. They seemed to prefer Mr. Dress-up, Sesame Street, Raffi, etcetera. While I see a value in these, as well, I feel students' experiences should not be limited to a variety at only one level. I think children should have exposure to the majesty of classics too.

In summary, Lux has experienced conflict related to her peers. This conflict seems to have existed earlier in her career and seems to continue presently. Peer-related conflict, she reports, has been felt in three situations. First, Lux enjoys intellectual exchanges through informal conversations. However, such an interest is apparently not a high priority with her peers. Second, Lux enjoys professional interaction in formal situations. Yet, from her reports, her peers do not always share her enthusiasm in this area either. Third, Lux feels that there may be a philosophical rift between herself and her immediate peers regarding curriculum decisions. Because of these differences, the researcher suggested to Lux that she might feel alienated from her peers. However, she argues strongly that such is not the case. Rather, she insists, she has learned to understand her peers in order to live in harmony with them. However, Lux does accept that she is unique from her peers. But are the conflicts described evidence that she is alone in many ways? To this question she admits that there is a certain amount of truth. Nevertheless, she claims to have close associations with other teachers. But by close associations she does not mean proximity in terms of time or space. Lux has come to know, respect, and admire a handful of trusted friends throughout her career as both a student and a teacher. She feels these teachers have become close because she has been able to share talk at one time or another with them, particularly regarding the area of ideals. Ideals, time has taught her, are not the types of things that she can discuss with the majority of her peers.

> I don't discuss such things as ideals with many teachers. About half a dozen teachers that I've encountered over the years have been receptive to talking about such things in a manner that I enjoy. Each of these teachers I highly respect and admire.

Lux feels a bond between herself and these other special associates. The kinship she feels for them is not easy to describe, she explains. Nevertheless, she adds, they do give each other cues, bringing them together.

> It seems the old adage "birds of a feather flock together" applies here. It doesn't have to be in words but somehow we give or receive some sorts of cues that let us know when it is, shall we say, safe to venture onto a topic with one person that we wouldn't dream of discussing with someone else.

Thus Lux hardly feels alone, even when her opinion or intent is different from that of her immediate peers. She draws heavily on the concept of kinship from teachers she has known, most of whom are not necessarily close at hand. In looking to describe the quality that she likes most about these select few, she chooses the word "authenticity".

> Something I have always felt is very important in looking back on those teachers that had the most influence on me, even though I may not have realized it at the time. These are the ones who keep surfacing in my thoughts over the years. I have written often the word "authenticity".

Lux feels a sort of spiritual unity with the teachers whom she describes as being authentic. A discussion of authenticity with Lux brought out five idealistic traits that she feels guide her own behavior now.

The first trait Lux describes as "consistency". To be a teacher, she has found, she could not ask students to do something that was incompatible with her own behaviors. Further, she argues that to "really spark" the students' interests she must show her students that she is consistent in her own behavior, not just part of the time but all the time.

> I feel anyone worthy of being a teacher should be authentic. I do not ask students to behave in a way that my behavior is inconsistent with. The teachers that have had an impact and really spark something in you are the ones who you feel are authentic twenty-four hours a day. I mean, they are not saying one thing then doing something different themselves.

The second trait Lux describes as "striving". Her ideals call for her to strive toward a personal "perfection". Such a goal, she argues, is not beyond reality, it continues to exist as a possibility, always.

> Now I feel my ideals are not beyond reality. Part of me knows that there is a perfection that we are striving for, that we are meant to achieve, that there is potential

> there for every human being. Is that beyond reality? Maybe it is not attainable in one lifetime. And who knows which lifetime will be the one where it will be attainable?

The third trait that Lux admires, and which she tries to reflect herself, involves being "tolerant" of others. Whether she agrees or disagrees with the views and behaviors of other teachers, for example, she sees that conditions are better when she pursues her own sense of what is good teaching without being critical of her immediate peers. The following statement, in response to a question about the kind of effort her peers put into their teaching, supports this claim.

> I really don't know much about the work habits of my colleagues. Some may do school planning and marking, etcetera after school; some at home in the evenings; some on the weekends. I suspect some don't put much out-of-school time into schoolwork at all. I have seen a variety of teachers in terms of effort and success. Yet I tend not to be critical of any, and find that I am happiest pursuing my own sense of good teaching without worrying about others.

The fourth trait that Lux admires, and tries to demonstrate herself, is "humility". She regularly qualifies statements she makes that seem to put her in a position of self-glorification. For instance, the following short excerpt was her response after reading her first interview synopsis. The synopsis had been reported in the first person singular. Because of this relevence to her in such a way she felt she had glorified herself and apologized, suggesting that she had "I disease".

> I think I'm one of those "I" people. And I wish I weren't.

Another example of the humility that Lux feels is important is when she speaks of the difference between her ideals and the way she actually is. She continuously reminds herself and others that she has not yet reached her ideals.

> I don't mean to imply that I am demonstrating all these wonderful things that I am suggesting are possible.

The fifth and final trait Lux mentioned is to help others by "demonstrating", rather than by telling, alone. While wanting to help others is a noble undertaking, she explains, demonstration is the best method to truly help. Because of her early conflicts and her eventual kinship with certain special teachers, Lux has come to see that more harm than good can be done to one's association with peers when help is offered in a thoughtless manner. Through demonstration, she has learned, help is acceptable to others.

> The best way to help others is to try to demonstrate change. If others become interested they will want to learn more or follow an example and proceed in their own direction. I think, with teachers and students, without the other making a commitment or without their interest, you could be doing more harm than good. Sometimes in your zeal to help all you are doing is hindering.

The following statement suggests that Lux feels a satisfactory balance now exists between her interests in holding to her ideals of authenticity and her awareness of and a certain conformity to the needs and interests of others. The following statement regarding her present views about helping herself and helping others supports this claim.

> As I develop I become better at helping others develop. I keep trying to improve. Part of this is through receptiveness to others and part of it is from knowing at what point to hold to my own views.

Finally, the main outgrowth of the conflicts described in this vignette may be Lux's increased sense of patience regarding her search for stimulating exchange and comradery with her peers. She now knows, for instance, that the types of interaction that she so prizes can come if not forced. She has also come to see that she need not fear being isolated from her immediate peers because she is not alone. Further, the type of comradery she yearns for is not only distantly available to her, as she had suggested earlier, but may be just around each corner at any time, as she expectantly awaits meaningful encounters with new people and new ideas. (For a detailed summary see Figure 18, Overcoming Potential Isolation from Peers through The Use of Spiritual Association.)

Complying with the Principal's Wishes

This vignette describes a conflict which has increased in recent years for Lux. However, Lux claims that it is still relatively minor in importance and that she has it well in hand.

Earlier in her career, Lux recalls, decisions made by school administrators were rarely problematic. However, more recently she has found that there are times where such decisions can be a nuisance to her. Plans for "Green and Gold Days" are an example of such a nuisance. Note however, in the following statement, that Lux chooses to respond to this conflict by complying with her principal, despite her feelings that Green and Gold Days were an inconvenience to her at that time. The following statement shows how important it is to Lux that she is not the cause of further conflict.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Lux hoped for stimulating exchanges of ideas with her peers. But she found that her peers were not interested in expanding their professional horizons in formal settings. As well, it seemed there were other teachers who were philosophically opposed to some of Lux's teaching views.	Lux felt disappointed and alienated.	Lux tried hard to see things from the viewpoint of her peers. Reflecting through the use of her diary, she learned to respect the apparent fact that many teachers needed a "mental break". She curbed her enthusiasm, deciding that growth could not be forced and that idea-sharing, in a professional sense, needed to be demonstrated more than talked about.		Lux accepted that the majority of her peers like to indulge in small talk. Higher level talk was the exception rather than the rule. As well, she has come to see that patience, alone, would assist her find the type of stimulating exchange of ideas as well as comrades in philosophical thought that she yearned for.
		Lux became careful about whom she became involved with when it came to "exploring ideas".		
		Lux overcame potential alienation from other teachers through spiritually associating herself with qualities which she had seen reflected by others whom she admired.	Lux felt less disappointed and alienated.	Lux felt a kinship with certain special associates, some of whom are no longer alive. Feeling such a kinship caused her to describe and emulate ideal qualities of these people (consistency, striving, tolerance, humility, and demonstration). Lux is deeply satisfied that she is on the right track as she attempts to move toward reflecting those traits and to becoming "authentic" as are or were these special associates.
				As far as some of her immediate peers are concerned, Lux recognizes that growth cannot be forced. Teachers must see a need before committing themselves to involvement in new ideas. They must also see demonstrations and have a chance to experience new teaching ideas at their own pace.

Figure 18. Overcoming Potential Isolation from Peers through the Use of Spiritual Association.

> Green and Gold Day seemed to impose on my professional rights and opinions. But in fairness to the principal, I didn't come out and make any blatant statements about how I felt on it. So I chose, because I could sense what the wishes were and because I feel you are a part of a team, you do things even though you might have done things differently yourself. You still play out your part.

Despite choosing to accept the principal's project, and the fact that most of the other teachers seemed to support it, Lux could not help but feel a little disgruntled. Her reason was because she felt that her own professional opinion had been overruled, even though she had not expressed this opinion. The following statement gives evidence of continued conflict.

> I dislike my own program being pre-empted by school functions which are simply announced. I feel it is my right to decide to participate or not in such an activity. At times I feel my professional opinion is overruled. But who should know best, me or someone else?

Lux argues that this conflict is minor and well in hand. However, the above statement does seem to suggest that she does feel some dissonance when her principal or others seem to override her views. Thus now, more so than earlier in her career, Lux seems to be wanting to have her own professional opinion better represented. (For a detailed summary see Figure 19, Complying with the Principal's Wishes.)

Striking a Compromise between Curriculum Authorities and Curriculum Reality

This vignette describes a conflict which Lux has dealt with throughout her career. While she claims that it has diminished in intensity, it will be shown that she presently blends two apparently opposing factions in order to find the right balance for her teaching. It is also important to note that Lux considers

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Later in her career Lux began to find that decisions initiated by the principal sometimes seemed to interfere with her own plans.	Lux felt hurt that her opinion was not asked.	To preserve the peace Lux withheld her opinion and chose to go with what the majority wanted. In this case, the majority went with the principal's view.	Lux felt that her decision was best for everyone but continued to feel a little disgruntled.	Lux was beginning to feel that her own professional opinion needed to be represented better.

Figure 19. Complying with the Principal's Wishes.

both specialists and administrators from outside of her school to be at the root of this conflict. For that reason these two key interactors will be discussed under one heading.

Early in her career, Lux remembers she struggled to comply with curriculum expectations. Even after four years of university she felt unfamiliar with the materials she should be presenting to her students. She remembers wanting to conform to those materials but her knowledge was inadequate.

> In the initial years of my teaching I was much more concerned with sticking to the teacher's guide and following every little thing. And I think that was because I wasn't familiar enough with the materials. And I felt that the four years of university still had not familiarized me enough with the provincial expectations. And the only model I had to go on was a little prairie city school of a long time ago where we didn't have any of this modern material.

But her struggle to deal with unfamiliar curricula continued over the years. Each time a new curriculum was created Lux, attempting to keep abreast of these changes, tried her best to comply with the apparent expectations of those who produced the documents. The following comments reflect some frustration by Lux. First, when new basal reading guides were presented for implementation Lux tried unsuccessfully to produce the exact same results outlined in the guides with her own students.

> At first the basal reading guides left me with the impression that my students should produce in the same manner as the examples given.

But she found that her interpretations were too literal. Yet, there seemed to be no key regarding how literal these documents were meant to be. Another example of the frustration Lux felt regarding new curricula was in trying to implement a new social studies curriculum. She found that the curriculum expectations were not appropriate for the grade level she was teaching.

> The original social studies curriculum, emphasizing values, was unrealistic. Let's have good ideas but let's remember the age of the child.

Trying to stay abreast of new curricula was not necessarily a rewarding experience for Lux. She had been trying to adhere to new expectations but found that the new material she was trying to implement was not bringing the results that she thought were expected. As well, she was beginning to see that she did not agree with all of these materials. For those reasons Lux looked for help from subject area specialists. But, while specialists tried to help, she remembers, there still existed a gap between the apparent expectations of new curricula and what she saw as the reality in her classroom. From her interaction with these specialists, she concluded that specialists themselves had unrealistic expectations. She hints in the following statement that these specialists could not translate curriculum rationale into practise.

> I sometimes think subject area specialists have unrealistic expectations regarding the importance of their ideas in the classroom. They often leave me to tie their ideas into my own program. They give you all the lovely rationale up here but one still has to translate that into something that is workable. And sometimes the gap between the two is quite large.

Lux began to see that she was on her own regarding the use of these new curriculum and instructional materials. She realized that, if anyone was a specialist in her grade one classroom, it was

Lux herself. With this revelation Lux's frustration and sense of guilt for her lack of success in precise implementation faded. Such a claim is supported in her following comment regarding the new basal reading program.

> While at first I felt a little frustrated, even guilty, because my students' results were different than the basal reading guide, I no longer feel this way. I have learned that guides cannot possibly reflect the reality of each and every group of children.

Therefore, Lux began to see that her role was more of an adaptor, accommodating new curriculum ideas by fitting them to her own needs. Now she is at the point that if she feels curriculum material is not appropriate she will alter it or not use it at all.

> I see my role as a teacher as an adaptor and a modifier. Therefore, I can usually accommodate new program expectations. And I think all teachers need to add their own special magic to new program ideas. When I find guide material does not fit my needs I feel free to change it or delete it totally.

Coming to the realization that she should be a curriculum adaptor, Lux established three basic rules to guide her efforts toward this goal. First, she could see that, in order to implement new curriculum ideas, she should not undertake too many new activities. Therefore, trying to come to grips with what is a fair amount of new work meant knowing and accepting her own strengths and weaknesses. Speaking generally, Lux suggests that such an acknowledgement can help all teachers.

> In order to accommodate new program ideas teachers need to know their own strengths and weaknesses. They need to know what they can make work and to discipline themselves not to try too much.

A second rule that Lux established to guide her efforts to adapt curriculum involved her professional reading. Extended from the above problem, Lux decided she should try to limit the amount of reading she did. Therefore, rather than reading a wide breadth of material, Lux became more discriminating. Because she was an avid reader, Lux had had the tendency to pick up and read almost anything. But being this way caused her to waste time on unproductive material at times. Now, rather than waste her time, she promised herself to be more critical of both professional and non-professional material. Thus, before reading any material everything came under closer scrutiny according to its potential usefulness to her.

> I read quite a lot. Much of the material I read I can professionally relate. And I do read professional journals periodically. And I do read through the various curriculum guides, texts, and other materials that are sent out. But one has to become selective about what one reads. There is so much I want to read and there is just not enough time. And I am a slow reader. So I feel, "Why should I waste my time on third rate material if there is something better?" By sampling or recommendation, you had better go with that than waste your time on things that obviously don't interest you or won't help you.

~~The~~ third rule that Lux established ~~to~~ guide her efforts to adapt curriculum involves adding flexibility to the objectives she sets for her students. Seeing that she had been too rigid in the past, she decided it would be best to alter activities according to how her students were doing at certain points throughout the year. She indicates that she has become more skilled now than in the past at recognizing what, when, and how much her students need at these various times throughout the school year. Re-evaluating where the students are in this way, she has found, is a much more satisfactory method to using curriculum materials than by rigidly adhering to them.

> Year end objectives provide a realistic guide of what the really essential things are. And you often reach the point where you say, "Yes I know I need to do this and this. But that isn't going to be suitable for my students." So you try to get the meat of the important areas. Therefore, you make it work as best you can.

But while Lux feels she grew tremendously in learning to adapt to curriculum expectations, she suggests that she became aware of another related problem. She began to feel that there were a growing number of times that certain lay groups, when presenting their ideas forcefully, would press for administrative decisions, which were often unwise overriding sound professional judgement.

> Sometimes public opinion, not as a massive majority but as special groups, seems to take precedence over professional opinion and real educational merit. I don't agree with this trend.

The result, Lux claims, was that such public-pressured decisions would eventually be passed on to her and her colleagues in the form of some kind of program innovation. Such a realization caused Lux to feel frustrated, especially when she claims such decisions were often countermanded at a later time.

> I feel at times that I am expected to implement new program ideas because administrators have swayed too much to public opinion. Sometimes their decisions seem like a blowing in the wind as they move back and forth.

In seeing decisions involving the way she thought sway back and forth, Lux began to have reservations about the motives of some of the officials making these decisions. Were they promoting education of were they promoting themselves?

> It's as though in our system some people feel they have to put on some kind of a show or something to draw attention. And then that person's peers dash out and do the same. Sometimes I wonder if they truly have a commitment to that. Or, are they doing it because it is the way to be noticed and make a name? I wonder how authentic they are. If you make a name or if you get something published you move another notch up the ladder.

Lux was not unsympathetic to others who look for rewards in terms of human recognition. She could remember earlier days where she needed approval from others, as well.

> As a young person I really enjoyed the plaudits. I found it very nice to bask in someone's approval. Maybe I'm one of those who really wants a lot of approval. And I can think of where I did some things simply because I felt it would be approved.

However, she no longer claims to need such assurances. Rather than looking for approval from others so much, she now looks more within herself. Administrators, too, she argues should be this way.

> I guess I've reached the point where what means something to me is if I feel that I've done a good job, not if someone else tells me I'm doing well. But in promoting ourselves, are we forgetting the best interests of the students? If it aids the best interest of students, well then, hallelujah!

Suspecting administrators' motives adds strength not only to Lux's view that she and other teachers needed to be flexible about their adaption procedures, but that they also needed to be more selective about the extent of their involvement with all new materials in the first place. This view is reflected in Lux's advice to other teachers caught in the same dilemma. She advises her peers to have patience to wait before becoming involved in new stylish programs.

> Some teachers probably would have enough sense not to attempt that for which they are not suited. But I feel there

> might be some people like myself who felt they should "go thou and do likewise" and conform too rigidly to someone else's ideas. Therefore, do what you can comfortably handle. And if it isn't sitting right with you, then don't feel you have to carry on. Don't jump over your head just because it's the "in" thing to do. And that would relate to my feeling that the teacher has to be his own person and has to work with his own style, even if something else might be the new style.

Another major problem Lux experienced was one which she was unable to pinpoint for some time. Later, she recognized this problem related to philosophical differences that existed between herself and what seemed to her to be the majority of curriculum decision-makers. The problem, she claims, was because the prevalent view of schooling, unlike her own view, emphasized learning experiences as dependent on reduction rather than on wholism. Magnifying learning in portions of concepts, or compartments, Lux felt, put the teacher and learner in hierarchal positions. Lux knew, as she was slowly coming to grips with her own philosophical viewpoint in this area, that she could not accept the prevalent view anymore.

> I feel there has been a general emphasis in education in promoting the superiority of knowledge, of intelligence, etcetera. Everything is so hierarchially ordered. Yet the over-all goals of education don't necessarily call for such an emphasis. I tend to think that students need to be viewed, and thus encouraged to be, as complete and whole, rather than magnifying only the one aspect of their thinking.

Lux feels, in retrospect, that in the past she was guilty of dwelling on experiences which were unimportant for her students. Somehow, she had been paying too much attention to new ideas instead of looking to her own students and listening to her own common sense for guidance.

> While I recognize that research on child learning shows the advantages of teachers using a variety of teaching modes, experience also tells me there is little sense getting all hung-up, as I once did, on things that I read in books or that I heard about that I was supposed to be doing. Rather, I have come to the point that many of these can conflict and certainly detract from the most important element in the whole educational process. And that is the students. I've missed out by worrying about some of these stupid bits of curriculum or something instead of going for the child and the child's ability to internalize it. And I think of all the beautiful opportunities I didn't dwell on them. I dwelt on unimportant things.

But Lux had been trying to teach by reducing concepts for a period of time all along. Changing her approach required a change from the rigid structure she had previously attempted to adhere to. Such a change, she suggests, required two things. First, she had to put more of herself into her teaching.

> A timetable, while offering organizational structure can be too rigid. Learning becomes compartmentalized, all chopped up into little bits. There are few ways to interconnect concepts and help students make sense of activity. We have to, as teachers and for our own selves. We can get help from materials, from other teachers, and even in-services. But, I think that you need to get in touch with your own self. And if that dimension doesn't get put into your teaching, then I think it's just a hollow empty thing. When we do that for ourselves, then, we can allow children to achieve it for themselves.

The second thing Lux had to do in moving away from a rigid compartmentalized teaching format involved putting more interests of her students into her lessons.

> I prefer to follow the flow of the class interest rather than remain fixed on a schedule which can end an activity before we are ready. I enjoy this flexibility. I'd call this type of timely learning "serendipity". I like to go with it if at all possible because I think those kinds of things don't occur that often. I think one should maximize for experiences where the group feels enthusiastic about a topic.

Realizing that reductionism was not for her Lux had to search out a better way. This search, as mentioned before brought her to the concept of integrated teaching. The integrated approach, she felt, recognized whole concepts and whole children.

> A teacher needs to teach the whole child. In the past I have been frustrated feeling we had no means to apply all aspects to the whole human. I am pleased to integrate disciplines. I have never felt comfortable compartmentalizing. I prefer teaching, at times, in incidental ways, drawing from special occasions, teaching for the moment.

Moving into a new philosophical position and subsequently a new wholistic teaching style meant, according to Lux, a move away from the norm. However, she had comrades, and she was aware of them. There were others who interrelated subjects and seemed to promote the "whole child" concept. She concedes that some of these trends were coming through subject area groups. For instance, I.I.L.A.P., is such a group and promotes learning through language, a view closely aligned to Lux's.

> I really compliment the language arts people at the present time who are seeing the whole total interaction of oral language and how these things interact. I really like the unified approach.

As well, Lux highly approved of The Waldorf program which promoted the wholistic development of the child at a personalized level. While she did not see her own school moving in this direction, to any great extent, and she was not able to become directly involved in this type of program, she did feel closely aligned to those who were promoting this program.

> Waldorf promotes the wholistic development of the child which would become personalized. But they do things in a group setting rather than basing things on the individual alone. They do a lot of eurhythmics with a special movement

alphabet and they often use music.

Lux also recognized that she felt an affiliation with certain teachers whom she has admired and emulated from the past. These teachers, she states, all have had an ability to teach more than curriculum. They could teach in an artful fashion, being able to use situations that come up during lessons, providing "really useful" things for their students to experience.

> Sometimes the highlight of the day is that little touch of spirit that has brought out something that lasts when the other information sort of drops out of usefulness. I have known and admired other teachers who think this way. Of those teachers, I have felt there was more there than just a curriculum.

But there was yet another problem related to adhering to curriculum expectations. Lux found that time itself was being mismanaged. She points out that those teachers she has admired greatly over the years were not weak in this area. Therefore, she does not attempt to blame them or their style of teaching for her mismanaged time in class.

> Time has been a bug-a-boo with me all my life. I can't blame those who I've admired as great teachers. Most of them seemed to manage time well.

She recognized that she had a tendency to teach in a tangential fashion. Finding that student talk would "spark her interest", she would often lose track of time entirely. Thus, while a meaningful experience seemed to be available, other potential experiences were being interfered with or lost entirely. The answer, she was beginning to realize, would have to come with a compromise between trying to be well-ordered and teaching in a coincidental fashion.

Such a balance Lux is attempting to find presently.

> While I admire peers with qualities of good organizing and planning it is one area that I have a long long way to go in mastery.

In summary, Lux reports, over the years she has experienced four major conflicts involving specialists and out-of-school administrators. Each involved an aspect of conformity to curricula. First, rigid adherence to curricula along with little or no help from specialists led Lux to establishing personal guidelines and skills to adapt curricula to the needs of her students. Second, responsiveness of administrators to public pressures, Lux is convinced, would mean such pressure would be transferred to herself and peers. She also became suspicious that certain administrative decisions which influenced her were done more for the administrators than the students. In realizing that these things might be happening, Lux decided to be more conservative about adopting stylish innovations. Third, Lux feels that curriculum content tended to be taught in a reductionistic way. But she had recently come to see teaching in a different light than that presented by reductionism. Therefore, encouraged by certain groups of "progressive" teachers and teaching groups, she held to her views, teaching wholistically. Fourth, Lux found that she was guilty of teaching in a way that reflected poor time management. But she concluded that, rather than eliminate coincidental wholistic teaching, she simply needed to blend this teaching with better management techniques. At this point in time, Lux is endeavouring to improve in this area.

Overall, Lux feels that her conflicts have diminished related to her interaction with specialists and out-of-school administrators. However, she does indicate that presently she puts considerable effort into actively managing these conflicts. Further, from her reports, she has become more skilled at dealing with these conflicts and more realistic about her expectations regarding those she interacts with in this area. (For a detailed summary see Figure 20, Striking a Compromise between Curriculum Authorities and Curriculum Reality.)

DISCUSSION

Critical Conflicts Perceived by Lux

According to Lux she rarely experienced highly distressful difficulties with expectations of her role. However, this is not to say that she is free from experiencing role conflicts. Rather, she reports that she has experienced a number of rather "mild" conflicts over the years. She adds that, earlier in her career, such mild conflicts were slightly more anxiety-raising than conflict she experiences at the present time. She reasons that this diminishment of anxiety is because, earlier in her career, she was left very much to her own resources to solve problems. Then, she remembers, she was less experienced and, therefore, less able to deal with role-related conflicts. But with the passing of years these and other conflicts that appeared became increasingly less problematic.

Presently, Lux feels there are a number of potential conflicts which could still cause her some discomfort. For discussion

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Lux originally tried very hard to keep abreast of recent innovations, particularly in the area of curriculum and instruction changes promoted by board and department officials. However, adherence to them all proved impossible.	Lux felt frustrated and guilty that she could not get the results she expected.	Lux sought help from subject area specialists.	Lux's frustration remained because the help was inadequate. However, her sense of guilt subsided as she could see that specialists had the same problems.	Lux feels that an influx of new curriculum and instruction materials will continue. Thus teachers will be required to become selective as to what and how much they will use. Lux appreciates the availability of curriculum materials but recognizes that pressures to conform to these can be unfair to sensitive teachers. Lux feels teachers need to pace themselves regarding implementation of new ideas, one idea at a time, in a way that makes sense to them. Lux came to the realization that she was the specialist regarding curriculum and instruction in her classroom. She saw that she had tried to use these materials in a much too rigid fashion. She also realized that some materials actually conflicted with other materials.
Subject area specialists could not lessen the amount of new materials, nor could they bridge the gap between theory and the practical situation in Lux's classroom.	Lux's frustration continued.	Lux established adaptation roles involving limiting the amount she undertook regarding new curriculum and adapting content according to year and objectives.	Lux's frustration was relieved.	

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Figure 20. Striking a Compromise between Curriculum Authorities and Curriculum Reality.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Lux wondered about the motives of administrators and others who seemed prone to "jump on the bandwagon".	Lux felt betrayed by the authorities.	Lux saw that it was better to be conservative when faced with suddenly popular innovations.	This rationale further lessened her guilt and anxiety.	Lux's view was confirmed that some educators put students second. She would not allow this to happen to herself. Sometimes "important things" could be forgotten in the shuffle, she felt.
Lux found that the prevalent view of instruction and curriculum was reductionistic.	Lux felt rather alone as this was the opposite to her view.	Lux held to her view about instruction and curriculum, assisted by her affiliation with a few small groups promoting integrated teaching.	Lux's frustration lessened.	Lux feels she is still growing toward perfecting her ability to balancing opposites.
Lux tended to over-emphasize coincidental teaching, losing track of time altogether.	Lux felt frustrated.	Lux found a satisfactory compromise between good time management and coincidental teaching style.	Lux's frustration lessened.	

Figure 20 -- continued.

purposes these conflicts are arranged under two headings. The first involves adult interactors and is termed "external" conflicts. The second involves interactions of more psychological conflicts and are termed "internal" conflicts.

The external area of conflict is presently the least uncomfortable area of tension for Lux, yet uncomfortable enough to mention. For instance, while at one time she had hoped to intellectually interact with her peers, she was disappointed to find little response from them. Today, while her hope to intellectualize still remains, she claims she is less likely than earlier to feel snubbed by colleagues who do not appear to be interested in discussing new ideas. Another example of an external conflict involves potential criticism of Lux's work by parents. Criticism by parents has rarely occurred and Lux claims she is not particularly concerned about such criticisms. However, such occasions have caused her to ponder whether or not she presently interacts with parents enough. Therefore, one might be led to believe that Lux could be altering her views regarding parent interaction, an alteration instigated by this minor conflict. Finally, a last example of external conflict involves expectations which might impose on Lux's classroom program. Finding just what is an acceptable amount of intervention, whether it be a new plan from her principal or a new curriculum from curriculum authorities, continues to exist as an area of concern to Lux. Nevertheless, decisions by others which involve Lux's program do not presently exist to her as much of a problem as compared to earlier. But, showing some evidence of tension, Lux expresses the view that there are times her own professional view needs to be better represented, another indication of felt conflict. Thus, it would appear that external conflicts have potential to be problematic for Lux. However, for the most part, she claims, such conflicts are mild, and even then she feels they are less discomforting than they were when she first experienced them.

The second area of perceived conflict, Lux claims, is more intensely felt than external conflicts, although, she adds, these internal conflicts are well "in-hand", therefore rather mild as well. There are three conflicts that Lux feels exist internally, or in other words within herself, as the major cause of dissonance. The first example involves her constant philosophical effort to find a view of her students that is in harmony with her feelings about classroom reality. She accepts that she has grown tremendously in this area. But, she confesses, the clarity she hopes for has still not been attained. So, while she experiences less inner dissonance than ever before, her search for clarity continues, as does this internal conflict.

A second example of an internal conflict that Lux continues to experience regards the difficulty she has in managing time. Lux admits that she has a natural tendency to "go with the flow of thought". This tendency causes her to forget the time. In forgetting time, she recognizes that she can misrepresent other topics and the interests of her students. Also, while she attempts to use time well for planning purposes, she feels she still becomes too immersed in items unrelated to the task at hand. Such tendencies, she recognizes, also emerge when she talks with other adults, sometimes losing sight of the purpose of the talk. Thus, she feels dissatisfied because she tends to be this way and, once again, endeavours to improve herself. In this case, she attempts to improve her abilities to manage time where and when she can.

A third example of an internal conflict that Lux currently experiences relates to the previous two internal conflicts, but is more general and all encompasing. Lux usually looks first to herself when a conflict emerges. This tendency is, on the one hand, a strategy which Lux uses to solve certain conflicts. Yet, on the other hand, it is also a conflict in itself. Lux recognizes that, at times, she is too hard on herself. Often the results are for her to regret earlier efforts or even brood uselessly over lost chances to alter situations she has been faced with. The anguish that Lux feels, related to excessive self-criticism, she reports is the most intense of the conflicts she presently experiences. Because of this tendency, she recognizes that she could actually harm herself.

> From time to time I brood over some things, usually an error of commission or omission. This is not just because I'm a teacher. I believe it is due to my individual make-up. I have always tended to be this way. I seem to brood over past mistakes too much. I am somewhat self-critical. I know that being too self-critical can be unproductive if held too long and eventually it can be harmful.

In closing, Lux continues to experience two types of conflict, external and internal. Of the two the latter is more intense, but Lux describes both as being relatively mild. The disappointment, frustration, fatigue, hurt, guilt, alienation, or regret she has felt before, she feels, still have potential to reappear. But she also feels she has become fairly successful at countering situations that bring on such feelings. A description of the specific techniques which she uses is given in the following section.

Conflict Management Strategies Used by Lux

As alluded to above, Lux perceives conflicts as having diminished over the years. Yet, despite this diminishment, she feels that she continues to deal with various conflicts at the present time. She feels satisfied with her ability to meet her own expectations. At the same time, she feels she is successful in meeting expectations that others have of her as a teacher. Analysis of the interview data indicates that Lux is capable of using a number of conflict management strategies. Six major strategies have been cited.

The first of these strategies is a form of "retreating". When confronted with face-to-face conflict, Lux outwardly withheld her own views if she felt they would add to, rather than decrease, the conflict. An example of retreating is where Lux curbed her enthusiasm to share ideas with other teachers after she found they were not interested. As she points out, she could have been more aggressive. But her way is not to impose on others, she explains. Another example of retreating was seen as Lux's willingness to comply with her principal's wishes, even when these wishes interfered with her class activities. Overall, her strategy, in cases where the plans of other adults and her own plans might clash, has been to give in to others in order to promote group harmony. Yet recently, Lux has become less interested with the results of this approach, feeling that she has not represented her own view well. Thus she regards retreating as a temporary management strategy and does not depend on it as much as she had earlier in her career.

The second strategy that Lux uses to meet conflict is "introspection". It is worth noting that Lux, seeing external retreating as a temporary solution to conflict, views introspection as a more permanent answer to her problems. For that reason she presently depends more on introspection than simple retreating.

Lux is not one to be particularly critical of other people who seem to be at the heart of her conflicts. Blaming others has always struck her as a way of giving up the possibility of finding a fair solution between people. Rather, Lux tries to see the view of others and consequently can be quite tolerant of apparent adversaries. Lux finds it more "productive" to be flexible with others, accommodating their views when possible. As well, Lux finds that making positive statements, rather than making derogatory remarks about others, is the best way to maintain good communication. Therefore, if a change is necessary, Lux attempts to make it within herself. A good example of such self-change is where she attempts to alter her own philosophical viewpoint about her students rather than place blame for her perceived lack of success on them. Introspection, as a strategy, requires Lux to read professionally-related material, participate in professional development activities, and clarify her own views by expressing them in a personal diary.

Using introspection as a strategy is not without its own conflicts, as was discussed earlier. However, while it can be a costly exercise, in terms of time, effort, and trouble, Lux feels that it is the only way she can satisfy her desire to grow toward self-betterment. Thus, she suggests that introspection, in the long run, is a satisfactory strategy for solving conflicts and continues to depend heavily on it.

The third strategy Lux uses to manage conflict involves a way in which Lux associates with others. In Lux's case, such a form of association is an extension of introspection. It is a form of internal association with others, rather than actually associating directly with others. An example of this is where Lux associates herself with teachers whom she has known over the years. Few of them are near at hand for personal contact. She refers to this association as her "authentic ideal". Lux uses this strategy to overcome alienation from others, primarily because she finds that, in order to hold to some of her views, she has to feel that she is not alone. Thus, through spiritual association she finds stability and comradery.

The fourth strategy that Lux uses to meet conflict is "anticipation". She uses this strategy to head off potential problems before they occur. Anticipation is a particularly useful strategy, Lux claims, when she feels she has enough information to guide her toward a correct solution on her own. An example of this anticipatory strategy is when Lux screens out "unnecessary" reading material in order to get to the most "important" curriculum interpretation. When screening Lux feels she demonstates surety that her powers of discrimination are now adequate to the task, thus overcoming an earlier sense of guilt that she once felt when interpreting curriculum. Another example of Lux using anticipation as a conflict management strategy involves her ability to work in harmony with others. Lux follows a number of simple rules of etiquette in order to keep in harmony with and respect the needs of other adults, her students, and members of her own family. For instance, she has learned that there are certain cues which will allow her to enter into intellectual conversations with other adults. She knows there are signs to look for regarding the willingness of other teachers to share professional ideas. She feels certain that students need not be talked down to, otherwise they will not reach the level of development possible for them. As well, she knows she must fulfill certain role responsibilities at home, without which conflict of various kinds would likely appear. Because of her success in dealing with circumstances in such a way Lux feels that her anticipatory skills have grown over the years, allowing her to eliminate problems involving other interactors before they arise.

The fifth strategy that Lux uses to manage conflict is "negotiation". This strategy is related closely to anticipation, in the sense that Lux tries hard to nurture and maintain communicative ties with others, looking for agreement with them. However, it is different from anticipation in that Lux chooses to negotiate with others when existing conditions are unfamiliar to her.

Lux's first inclination is to listen to the view of others, collecting information before acting. Further, Lux has full intentions of representing her own view more effectively than through her use of introspection for instance. An example of Lux's negotiation strategy at work is when she was criticized by a parent regarding sexist views in one of the readers Lux used. Lux listened to the parent, and then reassured her by showing her other lesson material that she also used which the parent would not regard as sexist. In this way the parent was shown that her interests were being represented, But, at the same time, Lux represented her own view of good teaching. Therefore, she did not reformulate her approach, as she may have done years earlier under similar pressure. Instead she dealt with the parent directly, finding agreement without feeling she had to stop using the older reader.

Another example of Lux using negotiation as a conflict management strategy is in the way she faces a new curriculum. She tries to comply to the wishes of curriculum authorities. Yet, she knows rigid adherence to a new curriculum can be unfruitful. Therefore, she tries to fashion a compromise with a coincidental teaching style, being balanced by a steady adherence to curriculum expectations. Once again, Lux tries to represent not only the views of others but of herself, as well. She uses this negotiation technique more now than earlier in her career, feeling more confident in her ability to strike a balance.

Finally, Lux uses a sixth strategy to manage conflict. This strategy is called "acceptance". She uses it not so much to accept the idiosyncrasies of others, but primarily when she finds she is too hard on herself. Admittedly preoccupied with her self-betterment, Lux realizes that she periodically needs to accept that her best effort, successful or not, is good enough for the time being. If not, the results, she has learned, can lead to a self-destructive tendency on her part, such as brooding uselessly over failure. Therefore, Lux accepts that there will continue to be times when she will be unsuccessful about various aspects of her teaching and that frustrations will arise because of these times:

> I do brood over silly errors and find over-indulgence in this can be destructive. I still have to work hard to control this. For example, not taking my mistakes home with me. I'd look back and take a magnifying glass to see all my mistakes, instead of saying, as I've tried, "Every day is a fresh beginning." That's the situation. Yesterday cannot be changed. It is over and done with. I try to learn from the experience and not spend a lot of time agonizing over yesterday. However, I still have a way to go in dealing with feelings of regret.

Also regarding the strategy of acceptance, Lux suggests that as she has grown older she has learned to accept the inevitability of "low points". In accepting that she does meet with such points in time, she points out that she is better able to face them than years before. She does so now optimistically, confident that better times will return.

> And I think there is one of the advantages of just age and experience, the fact that you know that life has it's up and down cycles and that maybe you are at a low point right now but that it's not going to continue. I mean, the ascending sphere, that it's going to come up. And that when we get right down to the bottom, well, the only way left to go is to come up. So, I might feel a bit down at times but I've always had an underriding optimism.

In closing, Lux has suggested that while the conflicting expectations she perceives always have been mild, they have also diminished over the years. Therefore, she claims, her conflicts are presently minor and those that she is aware of she handles to her own satisfaction. The six strategies, discussed above, the data would indicate, exist as major techniques which she uses to deal with the conflicts that she presently faces. These strategies act as a type of repertoire. Lux agrees that she draws on this repertoire regularly in order to meet the expectations that others have of her as a teacher as well as to help her represent and accept her own expectations. The way she chooses the appropriateness of a particular strategy from the repertoire is based on her view of the adequacy of each strategy to maintain a satisfactory balance of those expectations.

Future Orientation towards Role Expectations

Analysis of the data suggests that Lux's outlook toward future role expectations has changed in three major areas. These areas are discussed under the headings: A position of confidence; A clarification of rewards; and A clarification of responsibilities.

A position of confidence

Lux emerges from her experiences of role conflict, like the ones described in the vignettes, confident that she can continue to deal with role conflicts in the future. The reason for her confidence seems to derive from her view that her conflicts have always been mild and because they have diminished in their importance to her. Lux feels there is little to indicate that future conflicts might be any worse than those she presently experiences. Thus, she assumes, there is little likelihood of her facing further conflicts type with which she is unfamiliar.

There appear to be three major sources of Lux's sense of confidence. The first is the practical skills that she has developed over the years. For example, she feels confident in her ability to adapt new curriculum. Another example is that she feels confident about her negotiating abilities to deal satisfactorily with other adults when expectations clash. A third example of Lux depending on her practical skills involves her students directly. Feeling she has met with considerable success with these young people is proof to her that she is offering them experiences that are worthwhile, adding greatly to her confidence. The following statement shows that Lux feels she has grown substantially in this area.

> In the first few years of my teaching I really questioned if I should be a teacher at all. I felt that perhaps I just wasn't cut out for teaching. And I've asked myself, "Am I doing the students more harm than good?" And so, the fact that I've continued in teaching says that I'm feeling more confidence in my work and in my ability to reach these young children.

The second major source of the confidence Lux feels regarding her ability to face future role conflicts derives from her early dependence on certain colleagues whom she greatly admired. She remembers those teachers seemed self-confident. Wanting to feel that way herself, she looked to them for assistance.

> They all seemed to exude self-confidence. And I had no idea where I needed to go. But they knew the way. And, therefore, I could be fully confident that they would assist me in learning whatever was necessary. And so they gave me their self-confidence. They gave me, as a learner, a feeling of confidence.

But Lux found that direct interaction with this select group of teachers was not always possible. Further, her eventual goal was to move away from a dependency on them. Therefore, she began to transfer her dependency away from actual people to the qualities that they reflected. Thus, Lux reports, much of her confidence presently is drawn from qualities rather than dependence on the ideas and approval of others. Her dependence on such qualities, or ideals, is evident in the following statement.

> To me, without such ideas life would have no real meaning. But I think that experience helps you to see how you can put ideals into workable everyday terms. And I think that is one of the optimistic things about teaching, the fact that it gives you lots of opportunities to work with that very thing.

In closing, Lux has learned to look to a set of ideal qualities to guide her as a teacher. These qualities, she feels, are basic to her confidence in meeting role-related conflicts. She claims that she no longer needs approval directly from others, as she once did. Now, she looks inwardly for this approval, knowing that it is within herself guided by those ideals, where meaningful approval lies. The following statement rather vividly shows how and why Lux has moved in this direction.

> I worried greatly at the beginning if I was doing everything right. And at the very time, when I probably needed people to interact with and talk these things out, I didn't. And at that point it was very very important for me to have some sort of feedback from administrators or others that I associated with, or from parents, and, of course, the pupils too. But I didn't have them. And that, aside from my basic nature, was probably what got me started on doing so much of this internal review and evaluation and what not. Now I go more by my own inner feelings. Like, if I sense that things are flowing well, and going well, and that good things are happening, then I really don't care too much if I don't get a pat on the back to the extent that I did then.

A clarification of rewards

Another major outcome of Lux's experience with conflicting expectation involves apparent clarification of what she feels she can reasonably expect from her teaching in the future. There appear to be three major areas of rewards. The first area involves the job itself. Lux was brought up to "venerate teachers". For that reason, having the opportunity later to become a teacher greatly pleased her. Also, Lux feels that her job provides her and her family with an adequate income. For this remuneration she is grateful and satisfied.

Lux looks to teaching as a means to coming together and interacting with others. This is a second area of reward in which she claims to have found clarification. She claims to feel a great exhilaration in exploring new ideas with, and learning from, others. Therefore, because she comes into contact with students and other adults through teaching she sees opportunities to seek out such experiences. Because of past experiences of conflict in this area Lux feels she has become much more realistic in terms of what satisfactions she can expect.

Probably the greatest reward that Lux derives from her teaching, and which has been magnified over the years, involves her quest for self-betterment. The authentic ideal, as displayed by a handful of other teachers over the years, is her target. Further, knowing that she is moving in that direction by attempting to adhere to ideals of authenticity pleases her very much. In a sense, it puts her in the kind of company she wishes to be associated with. This association, as mentioned before, is spiritual. Therefore, it should be pointed out that such satisfactions need not, in Lux's mind, contradict the fact that she does derive satisfaction from being with her immediate peers, as well. Lux points out that her immediate peers play a necessary part in her ability to derive satisfaction from each school day. These teachers, in relationship to her quest to attain her own potential, allow Lux the opportunity to check the workability of her ideals as well as the chance to influence her peers through her ability to demonstrate those ideals.

In closing, Lux recognizes that she has altered the types of rewards she derives from her teaching role over the years. Finding that extrinsic rewards provide elusive and fleeting satisfactions, she feels the most important rewards are now intrinsic in nature.

> I think it's because my sense of rewards moved more from extrinsic to intrinsic. And to me the satisfactions are richer. And they are a little different than what they were originally.

A clarification of responsibilities

Another important outcome of the conflicts Lux has met over the years, she suggests, is a clarification of what she might realistically put into her teaching in the future. Such chosen responsibilities are closely aligned with the rewards already described. Following is a brief description of these responsibilities.

First, Lux reported that her home responsibilities decreased as a result of her children growing up. However, due to her husband's condition she presently needs to restrict the time she spends at school. Therefore, she claims that her first responsibility is still to her home and husband. Because Lux is relatively free to spend time as she wishes at home, she usually chooses to extend her schoolwork time there. Now, more than ever before, she concentrates on preparation for her interaction with her students. The tie, she feels, to these young people is substantial. But this is not only evident in the amount of time she puts into preparing for her work with them. It is also evident when she is with them. During these times she often becomes intensely immersed with them, sometimes enjoying the interaction so much that she loses track of time altogether. Lux sees her main role with her students as partners in experience. She feels students will best learn when they sense that they are responsible with the teacher for the activities undertaken in class. Therefore, while she feels that her own sense of responsibility to her students has become clearer, the main point of clarification is that she holds students to be responsible to themselves more than ever before.

A third area regarding responsibilities involves parents. Lux tries to keep parents informed as to what she and their children are doing in class. In recent years she has extended communication with them into the evenings because she has found many parents are not home during the day. She has come to viewing parents as a key to her teaching. Therefore, she would like to find additional opportunities to communicate with them. Yet, at the same time, she has realized the importance of representing her own viewpoint to them.

Lux also feels a sense of responsibility to other educators. She feels she gives fair attention to new curricular ideas, for instance. As well, she tries to respond to requests by her colleagues to participate in professional development activities, although she is more careful about sharing teaching ideas with others than she was earlier. As well, she is particularly mindful about the interests of her immediate peers. She endeavours, whenever she can, to show her support of group efforts.

The last point of role responsibility clarification is more conceptual than each of the four prior points. Lux has come to a much deeper sense of conviction that her role as a teacher is to serve others. The best way she can serve, she feels, is by acting as an example of her authentic ideal. The following statement is her response to a question about whether she feels she dichotomizes her professional and personal roles. In this statement she refers to a written piece presented to her by the researcher.

> I strongly agree with the statement that one's personal and professional life would have no duality. I hoped to serve by example. This, too, really appealed to me in these teachers that stood out in my mind. If there ever was a duality, it certainly wasn't apparent. Not only were they demonstrating a fine way of doing something, they were that example.

This responsibility, Lux explains, is a lifelong commitment. It includes all kinds of people: students, other teachers, parents, etcetera. A poem she wrote for her journal, called "Cycles", shows metaphorically that she sees herself as an important figure in the lives of others she comes in contact with. In this poem she states that the responsibility she feels towards others is to nurture them, encouraging them on into a life that she and they are all part of.

Cycles

We are the flower
That once was the bud
That from out of the seed
Sent roots down, with love,
While stem struggled upwards
To light from above.
From blossom comes seed
With the blueprint within
As round go the seasons
Again to begin,
For each but a phase
Of the one complete whole
And each needs the other
To play out its role.

Lux 1983

In closing, Lux claims that she is better able to balance the various expectations of her role than she was earlier in her career. On the one hand, she feels confident that she satisfactorily represents the expectations of others. On the other hand, she is no longer as unrelentingly self-critical as she was before. Presently, she claims, she is more self-accepting. Nevertheless, she has not put aside her continual search for improvement. The following comment perhaps best captures Lux's present position. While she may yet appear hard on herself, she retains, with this distinct sense of self-criticism, an optimisitic view that she is moving in the right direction.

> At ~~times~~ I keep making the same mistakes over and over. However, once we learn something and practice enough that it will eliminate the habit that we've had before, we can gain control of it. So I tend to feel optimistic that, eventually, if I'm given enough length of years, I will eventually get there.

CHAPTER VII

SAFEB

Introduction

Safeb is forty years of age, married, with two school-aged children. He presently teaches at the grade six level of a public elementary school. Over the period of eighteen years that Safeb has been teaching, he has taught grades four to nine. He has done so as a general classroom teacher and has also specialized in social studies, guidance, physical education, and health. He has been a promoter of several sports activities, outdoor education, and a chess club as well.

Safeb was brought up in a rural situation. His father, an immigrant from an Eastern European country, was a farmer. Out of those boys Safeb associated with during his high school years, he was one of a few who graduated. The majority of these friends left school early to work on their fathers' farms. However, encouraged by his father, Safeb continued on with his education even after high school. He entered the faculty of education at a western Canadian university. In 1965 he received a Bachelor of Education with a major in history and a minor in physical sciences. Taking night and summer school classes, Safeb received a Bachelor of Arts (1970) emphasizing the disciplines of political science, sociology, and anthropology. In 1974 Safeb was given a leave by his board to return, once again, to the same university where, a year later, he was presented with a Masters degree in educational administration.

The researcher met Safeb through a series of associates. A professor from the faculty of education knew of a principal who might be agreeable to having a research project in his school. The researcher contacted the principal by telephone. The result of this call was that Safeb was nominated as a teacher who might fit the criteria of seniority, availability, and willingness which were necessary to begin the research.

Later, the researcher contacted Safeb by telephone. The researcher briefly explained what the research project was about. At this time the researcher's intent had been simply to arrange a meeting time to talk about the possibility of Safeb becoming involved in the project. But Safeb immediately replied, with a very powerful voice, "No problem. Glad to take part." While Safeb's response seemed sure, however, it had been the researcher's policy to personally see each subject and explain in detail the pros and cons of their involvement before a final decision was made. Safeb agreed that such a meeting might be a good idea. So, it was decided, the researcher and Safeb would meet during a spare period that Safeb had during an upcoming school day.

The next week the researcher arrived at Safeb's school. He checked in at the office. The school secretary called Safeb on the intercom. A familiar powerful voice at the other end of the intercom replied, "Right. I'm on my way."

As the researcher waited outside the office door, he could see, at the far end of a very long corridor, a male teacher leaving his classroom. The researcher observed the man as he made his way toward him. The man smiled to students whom he passed. Twice he stopped, calling into classrooms to exchange what appeared to be lighthearted chit-chat with other teachers. The researcher was not close enough to distinguish the topics being discussed. Nevertheless, this man was clearly Safeb. While those Safeb talked with could not be heard easily, his own powerful voice carried the length of the corridor. Safeb smiled and laughed easily in each of these encounters. The researcher remembers that it was hard not to be affected by Safeb's untroubled manner. Therefore, by the time Safeb arrived where the researcher waited, both were smiling cordially, each extending his hand to greet the other. At that time the two decided to meet in the staffroom which was vacant for the next twenty minutes or so.

Safeb listened intently to the researcher as the project was described in detail to him. At the completion of the researcher's description, Safeb drew a deep breath and began expounding on his personal views of various expectations that others seemed to have of him as a teacher. He certainly appeared to be primed to talk on the subject. But Safeb's willingness to speak on the topic of this research was not enough. A long term commitment had to be made. After the researcher re-emphasized this point, he observed that there appeared to be no diminishment in Safeb's enthusiasm. Once again Safeb responded, "No problem." Therefore, it was agreed between the two to meet for their first formal interview session two weeks from that day.

Vignettes of Conflict

Safeb's encounters with role-related conflicts reach back into the past as well as exist in the present. The following seven vignettes attempt to describe the essence of those conflicts. They are: Counterbalancing a Tendency to Overemphasize the Teacher Role; Learning to Hold Students to Doing Well; Protecting Associations with Other Teachers; Overcoming the Tendency to be Overly Diplomatic with Parents; Maintaining the Support of the Principal and the Vice Principal; Dealing with the Impositions of Specialists; and Becoming Aware of the Political Decisions Affecting Teachers.

Counterbalancing a Tendency to Overemphasize the Teacher Role

Safeb considers the conflict described in this vignette to have been rather intense early in his career. Presently this conflict has diminished significantly. As will be shown, Safeb has devised several specific strategies to see to such a diminishment.

Initially the load of teaching was very heavy in his first years of teaching, Safeb recalls. He was not yet sure if he was going to stay in a classroom situation or if he would like to move on into administration. He felt he would have to put in some long hard hours to establish himself as a competent teacher. This step, he reasoned, was necessary regardless of whether he was to continue on in the classroom or if he was to take on an administrative role. As a result of this view, Safeb feels that he did indeed work very hard, especially in his first two years of teaching. He spent a great deal of time after school and in the evenings planning classes. He also feels he spent a great deal of time helping students during out-of-school time and leading extracurricular activities. Yet, while he rather enjoyed being so immersed in his work, Safeb began to question the results of his efforts. Would being such an ardent teacher really bring him a promotion, one which he was not entirely sure he wanted? Were these long hard hours really helping him and his students in the classroom? Further, he felt he could see in himself signs of deterioration as a result of his work.

> When you eat, drink, and sleep teaching it's eventually going to catch up with you. Yes, I know from experience. The first year, not knowing the curriculum and requiring to teach a wide variety of subjects, I spent a great deal of time organizing. I wasn't getting much sleep. And you could tell. I was being grouchy, miserable, the whole thing.

Thus Safeb began to see an error in the way he was approaching his career. The error, he claims, derived from his earlier view that long hard hours would play a vital factor in contributing towards personal success. But the very idea of success was being reformulated in his mind. An area of major reformulation involved Safeb's decision to drop his earlier administrative aspirations. He claims to have made such a decision for two reasons. First, Safeb had applied to his school board for an administrative position several times. He was turned down each time. He then began to suspect that there were too many people competing for the same job. Therefore, he concluded, such a promotion might never come to him. Second, he was eventually given the opportunity to substitute for a vice principal for a period of time. Actually serving in this position brought him to see several disadvantages to being a school administrator.

For these two reasons Safeb rationalized that it was better to invest his time and effort in his teaching. Looking first to achieving those things under his immediate control would allow him to receive surer and more immediate rewards. Therefore, he concluded that being a classroom teacher was a satisfactory position after all, and aspiring to continue to be a classroom teacher appeared to Safeb to be the most promising endeavour at that point in time.

But setting aside administrative aspirations was only part of the answer to Safeb's problem of overworking. He could see some of his peers caught up with this same preoccupation with their work that he had been experiencing. Finally, he began to see, through these other teachers, that too much time and effort put into work can harm both the students and the teacher. Such a tendency, he reasoned, was a trap. A trap that was very difficult to break from.

> Teachers I know that have had medical difficulties, nervous breakdowns, etcetera usually put twelve to fourteen hours a day on the job. They don't do anything else. They try too hard to do a good job but ironically don't.

Seeing some of his colleagues have such trouble confirmed in Safeb's mind that some kind of a balance would have to be established. It seemed to him that such a balance had to first exist between his home life and his teaching interests. Such a notion was reinforced by a vice principal that Safeb served with. Safeb still abides by this advice offered by the administrator.

> I was given the following advice by my first vice principal. I still abide by it: "There are things that you do at home and there are things that you do at school. And you make sure that you never short-change one or the other. It's fine. You do a lot of school work, organizing, and so on. As long as you have a life of your own outside the school. Don't spend twenty-four hours thinking about your work. Otherwise you're not going to last long".

Therefore, in order to assure his longevity in teaching, Safeb reasoned that his home life required protection from his work. He felt that a tendency to talk and think about school at home could be harmful to everyone in the family. For this reason he separated school and home as much as possible.

> School alone can't take up your whole life. You must pursue other things. And if you choose to be a family man and give your family a fair shake you must protect the latter from the former. If you wish to respond to the expectations of both, you must try to separate them as much as you can.

Such a decision, Safeb states, called for good management of time, particularly regarding planning of classes and taking work home. Once again, he looked to some of his colleagues for examples. Interestingly, those who provided him with examples were the same ones that he had, at one time, been critical of. They had, in his earlier estimation, not put in enough time and effort at school. But now he began to admire them for their ability to leave their work behind and to go on to other things.

> Leaving at three forty-five is fine. I've known excellent teachers, because they plan at home or they plan on the weekend. We all have other commitments. And we should have. It is their right and necessity. There has to be a time and a place for the individual to leave his work behind and to take on the business of living his own life.

Safeb feels he has been able to find a satisfactory balance between attending to home and attending to school matters. The following statement shows that he presently feels satisfied that his school responsibilities are being properly handled. This statement also shows how Safeb tries to eliminate working on school activities at home, especially at the expense of losing family time.

> While I take some marking home, it is never ever an hour, usually much less. Disciplined time management at school is mandatory for this reason. Now I tend not to take a lot of schoolwork home. What I try to do at home is spend no more than an hour on my schoolwork. And I try and give my family a fair shake in that regard. At times I have ten to fifteen minutes only, sometimes none. This often depends on whether I've had a chance to do some planning at school. I do take marking home periodically. When my kids have gone to bed I spend fifteen or twenty minutes marking. Normally I come in the morning, about fifteen minutes before classes. That's the time we have to be in. I work at noons occasionally, as well. I also spend a lot of time after school. I'm usually here until four thirty. Kids dismiss at three thirty. So I do the work here much better than I can at home, where there are other distractions. I usually work with kids until four o'clock and then I spend a half an hour marking or organizing myself for the next day.

For the most part Safeb feels he is successful at eliminating school work at home. He even tends not to indulge in talk about school at home. However, he admits, there is a time when he must confide in his wife about school. When he feels he has been affected in a negative way by his work at school and is acting poorly at home, he knows he must warn his wife. During such times, he feels it is important that his wife understand that he is trying to deal with something that is not family-related.

> I do talk over things about school with my wife. If things really upset me I do confide in her. My wife is the one when things really get bad. She should know why

> I'm grouchy or mean. And that's why I explain to her why I'm upset or out of joint for the first hour or so when I get home, or if I'm out of step for the day or two days. Even though I try not to let it affect me, it does at times. And I just want the rest of the family to be aware as to why.

While protecting his family acts as an important counterbalance to his tendency to overemphasize teaching, Safeb found that there were other things to use as counterbalance, as well. He found that he had other interests beyond those that centred around home and his school. Further, he reasoned that being busy in such endeavours was not only desirable but necessary for him to be effective in the classroom.

> Being busy out of school is good. To be effective in your job you have to be effective in other areas of your life, as well. What happens to you in the outside world has an affect on you in the classroom.

Therefore, Safeb went out of his way to nurture other interests. One such interest involved the operation of a variety of businesses. For instance, Safeb, along with his brother, used his weekend times to operate a family farm. Such an endeavour, he points out, has given him a nice balance between academic and manual types of work. The change of pace, he suggests, is what he needs to revitalize himself in order to return, ready to work at school again on Monday morning.

> An important way a lot of teachers, myself included, cope with pressures in education is to operate a variety of businesses. I run a farm which gives me a change of pace each weekend. Here, I do a lot of manual labour. So I kind of put my problems that I have aside by doing other things. When I return to school on Monday I am relaxed and fresh.

Running businesses such as his farm, Safeb continues, gives him financial stability. Thus, he feels, he is given yet another counterbalance to the tendency to overemphasize his teaching. Observing his colleagues has helped confirm his view that being financially independent relieves much potential pressure. He claims that many teachers, whose only income is teaching, are fearful of losing their positions. This fear, he adds, affects their teaching in a negative manner. He, on the other hand, being uneffected by such a pressure, feels he enjoys teaching more than many of his colleagues.

> I see other teachers worried about money. Usually they are family people whose sole earnings are from their teacher's cheque. I feel this has a bearing on how they perform their job. On the other hand, I have been fortunate. I have no payments to make. As well, teaching has never represented to me my primary income. Teaching is almost pin money for me. With my farm and other business interests I am capable of functioning independently of my monthly paycheque from the school board. For that reason, if I stopped enjoying teaching I could quit today. I could walk out now and not be worried about where the money was coming from.

Safeb has pursued a great number of other interests, rather than schoolwork and family responsibilities alone. He has been active over the years in community league. He has been involved in his local school bargaining unit. He has been his school representative for his provincial teaching association. Safeb has also been on the executive of a provincial and federal constituency organization for a political party. These activities, Safeb claims, like teaching, have been and continue to be both stimulating and satisfying for him. The reason is largely that he is able to extend the pleasant task of interacting with students to the equally pleasant task of interacting with adults.

> My involvement in these activities adds satisfaction to my life that teaching, alone, has not offered. I enjoy meeting and working with other people, not only young people but people of all ages.

Safeb found that, as he served in these various organizations, he became more and more interested in politics. Now such an interest, he feels, has brought him close to a potential political career. Encouraged by others, he has begun to look seriously at this possibility for the future.

> I have not always aspired for political office, however. At one time being a teacher, a farmer, and a political participant was enough. But people began suggesting that I run for office. This suggestion grew on me.

Presently Safeb feels he is in a position where he enjoys a comfortable balance between a variety of personal interests, none of which is dominated by his teaching. But not only the present is looked after in this regards. The future seems also to be well looked after as far as he is concerned.

> I have political aspirations. Therefore, I can have my cake and eat it too. I am able to meet people, serving my one purpose of enjoying meeting others as an end in itself, as well as making myself known. By making myself well known I am recruiting future support.

Safeb feels he and his family are happy. They are financially stable. For himself, his businesses offer him the opportunity to escape academia and the interests of students alone. He looks forward to an early retirement, where the possibility exists for him to continue on into a blossoming new career.

> I do not feel locked into teaching in any way because of my financial situation and because I have political interests that could potentially replace my interaction with children. I think I'll retire within the next ten to twelve years. I'm going to enjoy myself by retiring

> early and pursuing other personal goals such as political leadership at some level. Maybe when I retire I'll run for city council or M.L.A.

In closing, Safeb claims he is entirely free of an earlier tendency to invest too much time and effort in his teaching. He is grateful for finding a satisfactory solution to this problem, particularly as he sees many of his colleagues struggling along, as he once did. They do so, he adds, to the detriment of their health, their family ties, as well as their teaching. Being protected from such a tendency, he feels, will allow him to teach well and for whatever length of time he chooses to continue teaching. (For a detailed summary see Figure 21, Counterbalancing a Tendency to Overemphasize the Teacher Role.)

Learning to Hold Students to Doing Well

This vignette describes an area which Safeb found difficult to manage from the outset of his career. Yet, while tensions created by this conflict still exist, Safeb claims that he now manages this area more to his satisfaction than ever before.

When Safeb began his career he remembers that his greatest aspiration was to contribute substantially toward the growth of his students. He wanted students to be excited about what he had to offer and, in turn, for them to strive toward those things he expected of them. He remembers his expectations were high. However, he was saddened to find that his students were not as keen as he had hoped. For the most part, they seemed unable to raise themselves to the levels he set. There were even some students who appeared not to care at all. Safeb remembers his feelings of doubt and lack of confidence during those early months of teaching. One

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Safeb worked hard to excel. But his goals were unclear and his attempts for a promotion were unsuccessful.	Safeb felt tired, frustrated, and disappointed.	Safeb set aside aspirations to become a school administrator. He decided to stay in the classroom.	The problem was not entirely solved.	Safeb began to see that being a school administrator might not be a better position in life. Safeb could see that in order to teach well he should nurture, not eliminate other interests.
Safeb found that the same old problem persisted, even when he had set aside administrative aspirations.	He continued to feel frustrated.	In observing some of his colleagues and listening to advice from his vice principal he decided he was going to have to find a better balance in his life. Over time he took certain steps to establish a balance. 1. He become a better manager of time at school. 2. He cut down on schoolwork during family time. 3. He become involved a number of businesses. The businesses offered: a. a change of pace and b. financial independence from teaching. 4. He became involved in a number of politically oriented activities, encouraging a new career.	Safeb's frustration lessened.	Safeb became more confident that he was doing his job well. Safeb could see that his home life needed to be protected. Safeb feels he is presently in a very comfortable situation. Safeb could see that, unlike his peers, he was not locked into teaching.

Figure 21. Counterbalancing a Tendency to Overemphasize the Teacher Role.

problem, he states, was that he was unsure of the content he was to teach to his students. From this problem certain basic questions emerged. How much could he expect of his students? How much effort was reasonable? What was their capacity to learn? How could he determine when students were trying their best?

"Mastery" was the answer to Safeb. His reasoning was that all students, given the right amount of time, effort, and encouragement could master any aspect of the curriculum he presented to them. This view became clear to him as he, in turn, became more familiar with the curriculum and with the students he worked with. Therefore, armed with this sense of growing familiarity, Safeb established a teaching approach that required each of his students to attain a specific level of skill before they moved on to new work. The following statement describes how Safeb now approaches the topic of mastery and how strongly he feels about his students performing well.

> I get upset if a child slackens off or doesn't put forth a consistent effort. Within one or two months ninety per cent of them will know what my expectations are. And they know they have to produce for this guy. For example, in a language arts unit I will progress from spelling, punctuation, grammar, towards content. My final expectation is for them to master the writing of a short paper, not just pass over original mistakes, but see them and correct them. The first time the kids did this language arts assignment, three quarters of them flunked. Right now one or two are flunking. They are now more careful and try harder. At first it means being hard on some of them. Some of them have to face low marks or even failure. These students have to redo their work and show it to me.

But the technique, described above, was not always used with total confidence, Safeb recalls. He remembers being bothered initially because he may have been expecting too much of students.

> When I started teaching it's possible that I wasn't nearly so sure that students could reach standards of excellence or mastery. I remember, the first time I used this technique, it did bother me that I was too tough.

But, over the years Safeb became more familiar with the content for which he and his students were responsible. Each year, over the first few months, he found that students could and would begin to master this content. Seeing the success of their mastering such content, Safeb feels he has come to a clearer view of what is a reasonable expectation of his students in terms of subject comprehension and the extent of their involvement in that subject. Thus, Safeb feels he has gained considerably in his ability to determine what and how much students should learn. He also feels confident in his ability to hold students to task and to raise their expectations of themselves. Further, despite the fact that students complain each year about Safeb being too tough and unreasonable, Safeb perseveres.

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> Over the years I have grown accustomed to students complaining that I am too tough. But I know if I hold them to task they can and will produce better work. I remind them that I told them in September what I expected and that I haven't changed. In a sense, it's them or me, a matter of not trying so hard or excelling. So I have learned that this approach, while painful for some students at first, is ultimately a happier situation for us all. And while it used to bother me a bit that I might be too tough on my students, it certainly doesn't bother me now.

Because he has experienced this conflict situation, Safeb feels he can now see more clearly certain aspects of what he expects in return for his efforts in holding his students so rigorously to task. First, Safeb sees that he gets a great deal of satisfaction when his students adhere as best they can to his requirements of them.

> I expect rewards in teaching. These largely come from kids adhering to my expectation of them. I expect kids to strive, not fifty per cent but as hard as they can. After all, life is not measured by bits of effort, it's all or none.

Also, as a result of dealing with this conflict, Safeb has become more aware of a deep sense of personal pride in seeing that his students do well when their results from standardized tests are compared with the results of other students. To Safeb, his students are a reflection of him as a teacher.

> What children learn is largely a reflection of my teaching ability. Thus, as they move on up the line, I want them to show up well.

Safeb has also found, over the years, that his students must show respect toward him and to each other if he is to manage the efforts of all students toward the goal of mastery. A key to success, he suggests, is discipline.

> Generally I believe a class of grade six students must be respectful towards the teacher and each other. Discipline is the starting point. Without it I can go nowhere.

As he feels surer about the things he expects from students, Safeb also feels that having held students to task over the years has brought him to feel surer about the things that he needs to give to his students. First, Safeb accepts that the majority of conflicts regarding his own students come with the job of teaching. He recognizes the inevitability that all students will experience problems at various times. While occasions of unacceptable behavior or lack of effort by students do frustrate Safeb greatly, he knows that he must handle even these problems as best he can.

> Students are my first responsibility. They are also the people that I most closely interact with. Any pressure which they bring to me I must deal with first. This is my job. And you'd find that if the kids are working, I'm usually there helping them. The teacher has to serve the purpose of helping the kids that need help, even when they are working on individualized programs. That's basically where I learn where the kids are at, circulating around, not sitting at my desk marking or planning my next day's work. So, for example, I find out that Joe doesn't know how to multiply three digit numbers; Jack who I thought might have had a problem has this whole thing down pat.

Finally, Safeb sees important aspects of his teaching responsibilities subsequent to experiencing certain difficulties with his students. By the same token, he recognizes that certain limits exist to those responsibilites. He suggests that there are four such limitations. First, Safeb feels, when he has given a student his best and has made no apparent headway with the student he will have to refer the child on for additional help. Safeb suggests that such occasions are not his failures. Rather, he accepts that when he must refer a child on, it is because he has now come to better grips with his own weaknesses and does not feel too unhappy when he finds he cannot help a student. False pride is not a consideration in the child's welfare, he states. Therefore, more of his energies presently go into diagnostics than ever before. Safeb considers himself as part of a teaching team, acting on behalf of his students, rather than being the only person who could offer assistance to them.

> There are times, after having tried to recognize a child's problem, and having given him additional help, you can say you've done everything that you possibly could. And you don't down-grade yourself and feel slighted because you couldn't do it. Because there are situations where

> a teacher just doesn't have the time or maybe the expertise to be able to help that individual. You are looking at the complete individual. So there might be special areas where the child has to get special help. It might be reading. You might be able to handle most reading areas, but not this one. Therefore, you have to come to grips with your own skills and knowledge in order to know when to refer the child on. Now, I am better able to diagnose problems. I am better able and willing to see and say that I am able or not able to help a child.

A second limitation to what Safeb feels he should do for his students involves curriculum. He has come to see that he has only so much influence on his students. The most important area that he can influence, he feels, is primarily to teach his students how to read, write, and compute.

> As a teacher I am best to commit myself strictly to what I can do best with my students. And that is to teach basic skills.

A third reasonable limitation to his commitment to students, Safeb feels, involves time. Safeb sees himself, once again, as part of a teaching team. His job then, is to be responsible for seeing that his students progress from one grade to the next. He sees that as a fair contribution to these young people.

> Regardless of the grade level I would teach I would want the children to learn at least the things that the students would be required to know in order to handle the next level. Each year is an important year. I am always helping my students prepare for the next leg of their education. Grade six is a step toward junior high. Grade seven is a building block for grade eight. And each subsequent year, a block for the next. If I were teaching grade five I would be doing everything I possibly could to make sure the kids would learn as much as they can to be able to do well in grade six and so on.

Finally, Safeb reports that there is a fourth limitation to what he sees as a fair teaching responsibility. He claims there is a distinctive point where he can go no further. This point is when he senses that a student does not care, nor do his parents. After having tried his best to win the student over, with no success, Safeb is willing to go no further. He can care about his students but he cannot do their caring for them, he states.

> I feel I am realistic when it comes to expecting students to care. Some just don't. I give them my best. But you can only go so far with them. That's the way they are. They've got to live their own life. It's their problem. This is particularly true when I don't get any cooperation from the home. Those kids you really can't care about. Maybe you should, but you've done everything you can in the classroom situation and you've tried giving them special help and so on. And the student doesn't want that help. Then there's nothing more you can do. And you just have to resolve yourself, otherwise you'll have a nervous breakdown.

In closing, the conflict Safeb has felt regarding students meeting his expectations of them, he claims, is well in hand. But, he adds, for this situation to be better now than years before, he has to regularly manage conditions around him. Such management requires skill, a skill involving a balance of giving and getting. First, Safeb does his best to see that his students get the experiences necessary to continue on with their education. Second, Safeb also tries very hard to see that these students match his efforts. Together, Safeb feels, the efforts of the teacher and his students should be equal, reflecting the fact that they all care about the schooling process. (For a detailed summary see Figure 22, Learning to Hold Students to Doing Well.)

Protecting Associations with Other Teachers

This vignette describes a conflict situation that, in Safeb's mind, can be just as intense today as it was earlier in his

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Safeb found that holding students to high expectations was not easy to do. He sometimes met with student complaints and apparent inabilities.	Safeb was unsure as to whether he expected too much of his students.	Safeb persevered, holding his students to task.	Over the years Safeb could see that his mastery approach was successful.	Safeb learned that, while his approach was painful for some students, it was best for all of them. Safeb felt confirmation in his own mind that, when students strive to meet his expectations of them, he feels a deep sense of satisfaction as a teacher. Safeb felt a clearer sense of responsibility toward his students. Whatever their problems are, he must help them as a teacher. Safeb found there are certain times when he, as a teacher, can limit his involvement with a student. 1. A student has a problem which someone else might better help with. 2. He is trained and able to help his students primarily in the area of basic academic skills. 3. Students are with him for one year only. Therefore he tries to help his students for this year, which is part of a much longer series of steps in their school experience. 4. Safeb no longer feels badly when a student does poorly, as long as he has done his best as a teacher.

Figure 22. Learning to Hold Students to Doing Well.

career. By the same token, it will be shown that Safeb presently takes great care to see that such a conflict does not get out of hand.

From the beginning of his career Safeb viewed other teachers as role models. It was his colleagues, he reasoned, who shared his situation during the work day. Therefore, he looked to them for guidance by example. Yet he found that not all of his colleagues were good role models. For instance, he remembers, during those early years there was a lot of pettiness displayed by some teachers. He reports that older teachers, in particular, would purposely snub younger teachers for things like inappropriate wearing apparel or even sitting in the wrong chair in the staffroom.

To Safeb such a way of dealing with one's peers was destructive. While he hoped that such pettiness would simply disappear if he did not indulge in it, he was to be disappointed. As the years passed, Safeb found that this trait persisted with many of his peers. For instance, he reports that at his present school some teachers openly complain about their fellow teachers and others with whom they work. He also notes that this kind of negativity is no longer a practice for older teachers alone. Nor is it directed only at junior teachers. The following statement reflects his distress.

> The thing that really bothers me sometimes at this school is the amount of bitching that goes on. And it's not bitching necessarily about kids. It's about kids, administrators, teachers, anybody who is not in the staffroom at that time. But even if that happens once a month, as far as I'm concerned it should never happen at a school.

In realizing that some of his colleagues indulged in such negativity, and would likely continue to do so, Safeb devised some rules to guide his own actions. First, he adopted a rule that had been established at a school which he previously worked in. It regarded the type of talk which was encouraged in the staffroom.

> At another school I've been at, this kind of bitching never happened. We even had a sign above the door saying, "If you don't have anything nice to say, don't say it". We didn't have bitching there. We discussed politics, books, movies, etcetera.

Safeb decided to abide by a second rule regarding when and where certain kinds of discussions should take place. Once again he looks to previous school situations for personal guidance. It has become his view that teachers needing to talk about difficulties at school should do so at general staff meetings or privately with someone like the principal. Adhering to such times makes sense to Safeb but, he adds, the staffroom, unless vacant as a meeting room, should not be used for such a purpose.

> At this previous school you still discussed things at staff meetings. Or, you had the principal come in and ask for information about a student in regards to how he was doing because he had a parent interview coming up. And coming into the staffroom to discuss students was alright if you had a spare. But we would not talk about a student or other people in front of fifteen other people.

In such a way Safeb set his own standards for talk about schoolwork and those with whom he worked. His view had become that all conversations in the school, especially in the staffroom, should be geared toward the positive. Overindulgence in negativity, he feels, can breed further negativity and an atmosphere too depressing for him to work in. However, Safeb concedes, there may be a need for some teachers to talk this way periodically. Coming to realize such a possibility has caused Safeb to become more flexible in his adherence to the above-mentioned rules than was the case before. Now, Safeb claims, he has learned to be a little more tolerant of his peers. He suggests that a lot of teachers seem to need to "blow off steam" as a break from the intensity of their work in the classroom. By the same token, he adds, such teachers seem to need someone to join them in this exercise.

> Maybe the reason why teachers bitch in the staffroom is because they are really able to express their true feelings there. Here are the safe confines of the staffroom. So they do it to their own colleagues. They look for support from others. They come in and say, "That blankety-blank did this." And another teacher might say, "Well that's exactly what he did last year." Here there might be some willingness to get things off their chest. Here there may be a willing listener,someone who will understand and sympathize with what they are trying to do and what they are experiencing. Perhaps they'll even find a willing participant to join them in the bitching.

The increased tolerance that Safeb feels toward his peers comes from his realization that he too needs a sympathetic listener to deal with extreme frustration. Yet, at the same time he continues to hold to the view that his own talk must always have a constructive intent. But only in dire circumstances does he talk about the frustrations, and only to his own private audience.

> You need somebody else to cry on their shoulders once in awhile. Whether it's another family member, staff member, principal, or other administrator. But there has to be somebody. I don't care how long an individual has taught, there are times when something happens that you want to be able to talk to some individual about a problem you have.

> That's as a result of the job you're in. It could be a kid, a curriculum problem. It could be a parent. It could be a lot of other things. And you just like to be able to talk to somebody and be able to express your point of view. Maybe not even ask for support, but just being able to give the person your side of the story and have them listen to you.

But talk was not to be the only area in which Safeb perceived conflict existing with his peers. Over time he became aware that all teachers, himself included, maintain a fierce ownership over what their students do. To be seen as interfering with another teacher's students, he found, was a major error on the part of the intruder, one which could take some time to make amends for. Giving an example of two teachers and their classes being in the library at the same time, Safeb explains two basic rules that each teacher should try to follow to be assured that no territorial conflict is generated between them. The first rule suggests that teachers in such a situation should do everything in their power to stay clear of the other teacher's activity.

> Having one teacher have to speak to the other's kids can be a matter of infringing on the other's territory. I know if my kids were making noise I would want them to see me rather than have the other teacher come down on them. Again, this is because someone else can't possibly know what my thinking is about what is an appropriate activity for the kids.

A second rule, Safeb explains, gives clarification as to when a teacher can become involved with another teacher's students without an invitation and without being perceived as interfering.

> If there was a case where another group was in the library unsupervised and they were tearing around, not doing their work, I would speak to them and insist on them following similar rules. But, if the teacher was present I would speak to her as a matter of etiquette.

Having experienced and contemplated certain difficulties involving the type of talk that teachers might indulge in and involving situations where they should or should not intervene on their peers' behalf, Safeb claims, he has become a more sensitive observer of other teachers. While the above two areas have presented Safeb with a certain amount of frustration over time, this last example of teacher interference has caused him little difficulty. Yet, he adds, it has been a source of considerable tension between certain of his peers. He has observed teachers arguing vehemently about whether or not one has more right to certain curricular content than the other.

> If you interfere with another teacher's daily routine, discipline procedures, etcetera, their noses can get out of joint. This is true of content as well. I have seen two teachers really go at it in a classroom because one is handling a curricular topic that the other considers his or her territory. "Hey how come you're doing this with your class in grade two if I'm doing this with my class in grade three?"

Fortunately for Safeb, he views this situation not as a point of contention, but rather as a point which supports his own teaching. In other words, Safeb claims that he is pleased when he hears that another teacher from a different grade level is dealing with certain curriculum topics that he also deals with.

> For myself, I'm usually quite pleased to hear that something has been introduced to my students in previous years. This makes my job easier. Instead of having a general lesson, then I can have a specific lesson for the smaller number of students who were not in that class last year. Besides, a chance for review shouldn't be missed.

Therefore, what Safeb perceives to be an issue between certain of his peers is a non-issue to himself. Nevertheless, he feels that it is important to be sensititive to such points of tension, thus being sure that he will not someday be the unmindful progenitor of such a conflict.

Safeb, at one time, looked to his peers as role models. But because of conflicts, such as those described previously, he claims he no longer depends on them so much for modelling. However, he continues to consider close association with his teacher peers as vital to his own teaching and personal satisfaction. Because of the importance of this association, he takes great care to maintain his ties with them, being sure not to create a rift between himself and them. Above all, he wishes to be seen by his peers as constructive and supportive of their efforts to teach. Yet, while he endeavours to "keep the peace", he has come to recognize that he must protect himself from teachers who, in certain situations, become petty, negative, or destructive.

Therefore, presently Safeb considers interactions with his peers to be a source of some tension. For the most part it is a minor tension, yet one which, in various forms, has remained constant throughout his career. At this point in time, Safeb feels that such conflicts present no great threat to him and that he has the management of these conflicts well in hand. (For a detailed summary see Figure 23, Protecting Associations with Other Teachers.)

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Safeb noted the tendency of some teachers to be petty and negative.	Safeb was frustrated with his peers.	Safeb considered such a tendency to be a negative role model. Therefore, he first perceived teachers who acted this way as wrong. In time, Safeb became more tolerant of his peers, as he recognized that everyone "needs a shoulder to cry on" and to "blow off steam". He formulated guidelines regarding what, when, and where certain school topics are to be discussed.	His increased tolerance helped him enjoy the company of his peers more.	Safeb looks less to his peers to be role models. Safeb accepts that some teachers will continue to be negative and petty. He also accepts that all teachers need a sympathetic listener periodically.
Safeb noted that teachers periodically infringe on each other's territory through their involvement with another teacher's students.	Safeb observed some tension in this area.	Safeb feels that his experience in this type of situation has helped him formulate guidelines involving when a teacher should and should not interact with another teacher's students.	Safeb's rules proved to be sound.	
Safeb also noted that some teachers argue vehemently about curriculum ownership.	Safeb was not personally troubled with this problem but was concerned to not cause a problem in this area himself.	Safeb's increased sensitivity to other teachers and their problems helped him become thoughtful enough to stay clear of contributing to tensions in this area.	Safeb has managed to stay clear of trouble in this area.	Such experiences have contribued to Safeb seeing that he needs to maintain supportive ties with his peers. But at the same time, he feels he might protect himself from the tendency of some of them to be petty, destructive, and thoughtless.

Figure 23. Protecting Associations with Other Teachers.

Overcoming the Tendency to be Overly Diplomatic with Parents

The conflict described in this vignette, Safeb is convinced, is one which pervades all of teaching. It involves a tension that each teacher faces, he feels. While some of his peers do not deal with this conflict so well, he suggests that he, on the other hand, has been able to face it more and more successfully with the passing of years.

Safeb was brought up to highly value the qualities of forthrightness, even outspokeness. Yet, throughout his years of teaching he has felt a subtle yet overpowering tendency to be less than that, particularly in speaking with parents about their children. This tendency is because, he suggests, teachers are always on stage. They have to be careful about what they say and do. Their job is to be careful not to hurt the feelings of others. But, he claims, having to be this way puts extreme pressure on teachers.

> In many instances teachers have to play a particular role. And they are afraid to express themselves. Teachers have to be very very aware as to what that climate out there is in what they say and do. Part of that comes from being continuously on centre stage. They can't make a mistake.

Safeb further contends that when teachers feel they are on "centre-stage" they often tend to override their own feelings, having to hide them. This, he adds, is because teachers must be fair. They try to never offend. The repercussions of offending others might involve a reprimand from school officials. So, he suggests, teachers have a tendency to be too careful or, as he put it, too diplomatic.

> Teachers learn to control their swearing. They learn to control their emotions. They learn to control what they say and how they say it, not yelling, etcetera. So teachers are always trying to be fair. Their greatest fear is being unfair. They take great care not to offend. Doing this they often hide their true feelings. And so, overall, teachers have a tendency to be overly diplomatic.

Safeb cites two examples to support his claim. The first example involves an observation he has made of his peers. This example involves a parent-teacher interview he had had, only he was not the teacher. He was the parent visiting his son's school. In retrospect, Safeb feels very sympathetic towards his son's teacher. She was very careful in reporting to Safeb and equally careful, possibly defensive, in trying to interpret Safeb's concerns. Safeb knew that his son could cause problems at school. But he smiles when he describes the careful way that his son's teacher searched for terms which would not antogonize Safeb.

> An example of teachers being overly careful about what they say is when I go as a parent to see my own child's teacher. She is a good teacher. Yet I can tell she is thinking, "Hey what is this guy driving at? I've got to give him the right answers, what he wants to hear. I've got to be careful as to what I say, so as not to ruffle his feathers." In reporting to me she set up her statements carefully. She got at her point in a very round-about way. For example, instead of saying, "Your child lacks this" or "Your child has a big mouth", it's something like, "Oh your child is no problem. But, there are times when he is over exuberant."

The second example Safeb uses to support his claim that teachers are too diplomatic involves report card comments. The example is an extension of the first example. This time Safeb speaks more from direct experience.

> You learn to be careful writing comments in report cards. I try to find something positive. You never say, "Your child talks too much in class and never pays attention

> to what I am trying to do or say in the classroom." Rather, you try to word it, "Johnny has a very pleasant disposition, etcetera. But there are times when he is overly exuberant in the classroom, etcetera."

The result of this preoccupation with being too diplomatic, Safeb contends, can make teachers indecisive, even timid. They often back down from situations too easily, he adds. This tendency carries over into the way they deal with others.

> It is the work that makes teachers appear to be indecisive or overly diplomatic. And this carries over into other situations to a large extent. So when teachers deal with others this is still part of them. So most teachers will not face up to conflict which involves other adults such as parents, administration, etcetera. And most suffer from being too careful and too diplomatic. I think a lot of teachers are just too timid and are afraid to face such conflicts.

Safeb provides an example to support his view that teachers can be indecisive and timid, giving in too easily to the demands of parents and other adults. This example is of a teacher with twenty years experience who felt compelled by a parent, and later by the principal and area superintendent who seemed to support the parent, to administer medicine to a student. Administering medicine to a student was against teachers' association and board policy, Safeb reports. Yet, despite policy being on her side in this case, she chose to comply to outside pressures in order to eliminate further conflict.

> An example of this hesitancy was when a senior teacher who I remember to be rather outspoken was confronted by a parent, the principal, and the area superintendent about administering medicine to a student. While it is against the teachers' association and school board policies for a teacher to administer medicine to a student, this teacher chose to comply to the parents' wishes because:

> number one, she didn't want to ruffle anyone's feathers; number two, she seemed all alone in this conflict; number three, she had already received an official reprimand from the area superintendent; and number four, she feared losing her job. So, you see, she lacked security in her position even after twenty years teaching.

But Safeb was far from unsympathetic to his peer's willingness to comply. He began to feel that such action might be appropriate for many of his peers because their positions were not strong enough to counter unreasonable demands. He reasoned that their thinking has become shaped by fear. If they are to last as teachers, they must not offend.

> Perhaps she sees the handwriting on the wall. Maybe she knows that if she doesn't respond in a particular way there is a possibility of her losing her job. I'd say it's appropriate. You all learn to be this careful over a period of years. I'm not altogether sure it's wrong. As a matter of fact, it's what you have to become to exist in this system so as not to offend.

But while Safeb has sympathy for his peers he also feels that most of them are unnecessarily careful not to offend parents. He claims there are two main reasons for this. First, he suggests that many teachers do not have the knowledge needed to hold to their own opinions when faced with unreasonable expectations by parents.

> Many teachers don't know the correct procedures when someone makes a request of them. They're afraid to say "No" because they don't know. And, once it's accepted, it becomes part of the way of doing things.

A second reason for teachers being so careful to be non-offensive, Safeb claims, is money. He claims that many of his peers are not in a strong financial position and, because of this, they are afraid of losing their jobs if they meet other adults, and parents in particular, in conflict situations. He adds that most teachers feel financially trapped and must continue to teach for that reason.

> Other teachers I have known say, "Boy if only I could win Lotto Canada. I'd tell these guys to screw off". They want better security. Some of them feel trapped. I know two young male teachers who have won lotteries and quit teaching. That was several years ago and they're still not back. For that reason I feel that most teachers back down from unreasonable requests from other adults. Those who don't are financially secure.

Safeb feels considerable sympathy for other teachers. But he is not free of their dilemma either. He claims that he feels a tendency to be over-diplomatic, as well. However, he also claims that he does not feel the same intensity to maintain a careful exterior as do his peers. As a matter of fact he considers himself to be unique in his ability to deal with conflict which would cause other teachers to act timid or indecisive. He claims there are four reasons for this uniqueness. Those reasons are discussed next.

The first reason relates to what Safeb describes as his increased awareness of what his students can do. This point was discussed in a prior vignette. Feeling some confidence about this knowledge, he proposes that he has become more confident in holding students to task and, in turn, facing parents who may feel he is unjust or too hard on his students.

It has become Safeb's opinion in talking to parents, particularly about the progress of their children in school, that when problems arise these problems are better faced immediately than put off.

Putting off problems, he argues, only allows them to become worse over time. This position has been fortified, Safeb claims, through observations he has made of his peers. He states that other teachers "beat around the bush" too much. They lack forthrightness, sometimes doing nothing for the child. Fearing conflict with parents they choose to stay clear of talk about the child's problem, usually, he adds, offering praise but only praise.

> While praise is important. We, as teachers, tend to beat around the bush too much when a problem arises. The system, as we know it, dwells too much on praise.

Safeb's awareness of a tendency for teachers to stay clear of conflict with parents and other adults is heightened through his work as a negotiator with the local bargaining unit. He observed teachers and trustees together. While, he noted, teachers would try to be fair and understanding, trustees exhibited a much different behavior. They seemed more willing to face conflict even with each other. The contrast between groups was incredible, he states. Teachers seemed slow and cumbersome in the way they spoke. Trustees, on the other hand, were able to get to the point immediately, a quality Safeb greatly admires.

> Trustees were not afraid to go at it tooth and nail. Rather, one even said to another trustee, "What are you? Anybody can see that point! Are you stupid?" It was unreal to see two trustees go at it. It was whammo! So I rather admired the trustees in that they called a spade a spade. Trustees are to the point. They do not beat around the bush like teachers do. Trustees and teachers live in entirely different worlds. I find this forthrightness refreshing because we teachers speak in a much more careful, even cumbersome manner, so as not to offend.

Experiences such as this have helped reinforce Safeb's view that honesty and forthrightness are the best policy to follow. He feels that while one might be influenced to take a softer line in reporting to parents about their children's progress, the child, the parent, and the teacher will all be better off in the long run by his taking the direct approach to solving a problem. This approach, he suggests, takes courage. Yet, he adds, attacking problems directly need not be done without tact. He claims that while taking this approach, he is still able to remain inoffensive.

> But there are times when a child is experiencing problems and needs direction. He needs to see where the problem lies. Here you have to be able to state it outrightly, even courageously. Both the teacher and the child can face this. And if a child is experiencing a problem I try to word my concerns in such a manner that the child or parent would get some wind of it but not offend them.

The second reason Safeb feels he deals with parent-related problems better than his peers is because he has seen ample evidence that his teaching is good. Safeb feels that he is respected for his teaching qualities. He has been given positive feedback from his students, parents, other teachers, and administrators over the years. He claims to enjoy a good rapport with those interactors, particularly parents and students.

> I've had a good rapport with many parents, kids, principals, and central office personnel. Getting good feedback from them is an indication to me that I have been doing a good job. And I know through this, what doing a good job is.

Safeb feels that such feedback reinforces his ability to deal satisfactorily with unfair expectations of parents. For instance, when he encounters parent criticism regarding his handling of a student or about his teaching in general, he claims to have become tough-skinned and that such remarks do not interfere with his teaching.

> When I run into a parent who says I don't know how to teach, this sheds off my back. And I still try to help the kid.

Yet, while Safeb feels he knows when parents are being unreasonable, he still has to deal with questions by parents regarding his professional motives. Petty remarks, he states, can be brushed aside. But it does hurt when a parent suggests that he is spiteful or vindictive. Such a view is rarely stated by a parent. But, when it has been, Safeb suggests that he expresses the following opinion to the parent who is criticizing his efforts.

> I am entrusted with the welfare of a group of children. I am responsible to see that they grow and develop. But at times this trust seems questionable. It seems that some people think that when teachers strongly hold a child to a task they are just trying to get even. But what you are trying to do is make a point with that one particular child. It might not work with others. Whatever works for their long-term benefit is foremost in my mind, even when it seems painful to this student, the parent, and even to me.

Finally, Safeb has come to the opinion that he is a partner with parents. He is not alone in terms of responsibility for the progress of his students. Because of criticism, such as the aforementioned, he refuses to accept total blame when it comes to discussing difficulties that his students are experiencing.

> I feel that I am in partnership with parents, particularly when a child is experiencing some difficulty.

The third reason Safeb feels he deals with parent-related problems better than his peers is because of his legal knowledge. Safeb has a strong interest in teacher politics, being active in legal and financial negotiations on behalf of the teachers' association. This experience has made him much more aware of what the legal rights of teachers are. This knowledge has given him the ability to stand up for the rights of himself and his peers.

> You can't be out in right field and all of a sudden make some stupid statement and stick to it. You've got to have some knowledge as to what is happening and be able to handle the situation.

Safeb cites the example, given earlier, where a parent asked a teacher to administer medicine to a child. While the teacher did not use Safeb's advice, for fear of losing her job, Safeb insists that because of his legal knowledge he would have refused to administer the medicine if he had been directly involved. In this case he would be prepared to oppose the parents and anyone else who sided with them.

> For myself I'd have told the parent and principal where to go. I'd direct them to the operational handbook which every principal has. If this problem persisted, I'd say, "You guys phone the central office and get someone down here because at this stage of the game you and I aren't talking."

Safeb cites a second example of conditions where unreasonable parent expectations can be overcome through legal knowledge. Some parents have tried to pressure Safeb to drop the topic of drug abuse from his health course. While listening to their concerns, he could not agree that staying away from the topic was acceptable.

Therefore, he strengthened his argument for this topic by showing the parents that it was part of the legal curriculum.

> I generally look to the curriculum guide, local board policy, and school decisions to fortify my position for teaching controversial topics. I have encountered parents who have tried to convince me that discussing drug abuse in class only encourages the taking of drugs. As it is part of the health curriculum and because I feel, if handled responsibly and sensibly, it is a highly desirable topic. I am not going to stay away from it.

Sex education was also a topic questioned by parents. For example, Safeb was criticized for using a particular film. Once again he looked for legal curriculum endorsement. But in this case the endorsement was sought and gained from the local board and Safeb's principal because the film in question was not part of the regular curriculum. So Safeb, feeling sure of his legal position, presented the film. Yet, after protecting his own position, he relieved potential antagonism by offering parents the opportunity to take their children from his class during times when such films were being presented.

> While sex education is also a curricular topic, a film which we show on maturation is not considered part of the regular program. The local board and the principal do endorse it, however. I have had parents suggest this film is not part of schooling. And I hold to showing this film. In the above cases the parent is free to remove his child from my class.

The fourth reason Safeb feels he deals with parent-related problems better than his peers is because of his financial situation. This point has been discussed at length earlier and, therefore, will not be elaborated upon here. However, it is no less important a reason, Safeb emphasizes, as an explanation for his ability to deal with parent-related conflict than the first three reasons. The following point expresses his view that he is not locked into teaching, unlike most of his peers. Therefore, if pressured unreasonably by parents and others, he could always leave teaching.

> My livelihood doesn't rely on teaching. I'm secure enough and have other business ventures that, if somebody wanted to force me, I could go and do something else.

In closing, Safeb contends that teachers usually evolve toward a position of utter timidity when it comes to their facing parent-related conflict. He feels this is endemic to teaching. Teachers take great pains to be respectful and to not offend others. They are always being diplomatic, he states, but for him, too diplomatic. He adds that what teachers most fear is the reprimand that often accompanies occasions where they are perceived by parents as being unfair towards students. Therefore, when teachers deal with parents, they often shift away from conflict of any kind.

While Safeb admits that he is influenced by such a tendency himself, he also claims that this influence is much less prevalent than with his peers. He feels that this difference is because of his legal knowledge, financial independence, strong reputation, and rapport with parents, as well as his skill in forthrightly facing parents regarding various problems.

Safeb is proud of the fact that he "calls a spade a spade". Interestingly, with the confidence that he claims to feel regarding this ability, he also suggests that he is usually far from being argumentative with and antagonistic toward parents.

For the most part the opposite is true, he states. While retaining his ability to be forthright, he contends that he is still careful to be constructive about his students. He states that he tries hard to maintain supportive ties with parents and finds little constructive value in being offensive to them.

Ironically, Safeb feels that, rather than becoming less compliant with parents' wishes over time, he has become more so. Being aware of his position of strength and confidence he now feels less frustration from parent-related conflicts than earlier in his career. He feels satisfied with his ability to face the few conflicts that now arise in this area, at the same time as protecting his own concerns and interests. Thus, he claims, along with the realization of his strengths has come an increasing tendency to be more benevolent and tolerant toward the wishes of parents than in the past. (For a detailed summary see Figure 24, Overcoming the Tendency to be Too Diplomatic with Parents.)

Maintaining the Support of the Principal and Vice Principal

Safeb claims that he never really intensely felt the conflict described in this vignette. He further suggests that it is presently not much of a problem to him personally. Rather, as described in earlier vignettes, the conflicts are those which some of his peers have struggled with and, for some, continue to struggle with. However, as before, the struggles of his peers have, to a certain extent, become Safeb's as well.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Safeb found that he and, to a greater extent, his colleagues tended to be too diplomatic and rather timid when dealing with parents. He observed teachers being too careful in reporting to parents and in complying too easily to unreasonable parent expectations.	This timidity bothered Safeb. It was not the way he wanted to be.	The fault, as he saw it, came from teachers lacking knowledge as well as financial stability. He, on the other hand, did have these elements upon which to base his strength to oppose unreasonable parent expectations. They were: 1. He was skilled at being forthright yet tactful. 2. He received ample positive feedback from parents, students, and others regarding his ability to teach well. 3. He knew the legal rules regarding curriculum, procedure, etcetera. 4. He was financially independent.	In realizing his strengths, Safeb found that he need not feel bothered about a tendency of some teachers to be too diplomatic.	Safeb considers himself as unique among his peers, to be forthright, sometimes able to act on behalf of his peers. Safeb accepts that some parents will likely continue to criticize, some unfairly. Ironically, Safeb sees that he has become less sensitive about such conflicts and has become more tolerant toward and compliant with parent expectations. Safeb feels he has reached a stage where he has found a balance between forthrightness and tact, when dealing with parents. Safeb feels he has seen ample evidence to reinforce his view that most other teachers are too diplomatic and timid with parents.

Figure 24. Overcoming the Tendency to be Too Diplomatic with Parents.

Safeb originally saw his own school administrative leaders as comrades and advisors. They provided him with support and guidance which he, as a beginning teacher, needed and gladly accepted. He also remembers, many times, their being available for him to bring personal problems to them for discussion. Between Safeb and the school administrators there was a bond of trust, he claims. However, as the years passed, he saw evidence that not all school administrators and teachers enjoyed that same trust. Periodically a teacher from another school would report a situation to him where this bond of trust had been broken.

One such example of where this bond had been broken was a situation, described earlier, where a teacher Safeb knew was forced to administer medicine to a student. Safeb suggests that, in this situation, the principal, and later the area superintendent, responded too easily to a parent who had pressured them in an extremely forceful manner. In taking the parents' side, Safeb continues, a barrier was formed between the teacher and the principal. Whatever trust the teacher had felt previously toward the principal, Safeb adds, was now gone.

> The teacher I mentioned, who was forced by the administration to give medicine to her student, will have to look elsewhere for a friendly shoulder of confidence. She'll not trust that principal or area superintendent with her innermost feelings. A barrier has formed. She'll think, "I'll have to watch what I say from now on and look to more sympathetic people as comrades."

Safeb claims that he has never met personally with an uncomfortable confrontation with his school administrators such as the ones described above. But, he adds, examples like this have clarified his view about individuals in such positions. He suggests that some principals and vice principals are more preoccupied with self-promotion than with assisting and supporting their teachers. When this is the case, he adds, such individuals will be too quick to respond to criticism from outside of the school, for too much criticism means no promotion. Therefore, rather than face angry parents who might, in turn, present their case further up the hierarchal chain of command, these individuals, Safeb suggests, will likely apply pressure directly on the teacher. Such pressure is applied, Safeb continues, because some administrators hope that their compliance will please those who may be in a position to offer them a promotion. Above all, Safeb adds, these individuals try to show their superiors that they are capable of smoothly running a school. Individuals preoccupied with self-promotion, Safeb adds, are bad administrators. They respond to the wrong things.

> Lots of principals and vice principals try very hard to keep things running smoothly. They do this often by complying to the squeaky wheel and suppressing the teacher. This is for brownie points. So they end up, rather than being a good administrator, they become bad. And a bad administrator is one who pursues brownie points because their main objective is to move ahead. And this is particularly true of vice principals, because they are on the ground step toward the only promotion they can get, becoming a principal. They seem to become intensely upward mobile when they get into this position. Here the vice principal, in order to become a principal, has to do all of the right things. He has to squash boat-rocking or anything at his school that might reflect negatively on him. Therefore, he is willing to apply pressure on the teacher rather than face the superintendent under such circumstances.

Having considered situations where principals or vice principals have seemed not to support teachers well, Safeb concludes critically that good administrators are not those who promote themselves. They should be like himself and many of his peers, free of a tendency to promote themselves.

> I feel that, regardless of an educator's level of work, he shouldn't do things for his own benefits, working ahead on brownie points, because that's not what should be. Most teachers in elementary school are not caught up in this kind of self-promotion.

But Safeb found that neither being disdainful of school administrators who were this way nor simply giving advice to teachers in conflict with such administrators was enough to relieve his own dissatisfactions. He began to see that he should take inventory of his own personal position of strength, should he ever be confronted by a principal or vice principal preoccupied with self-promotion. After consideration he cited four areas of strength. First, Safeb ~~considered~~ his political knowledge about students and parents to be sound. He felt he knew what and how much students could do as well as in what situations and how much he could count on parents to back him in his efforts to work with these students. He felt confidence in this knowledge because, as he saw it, he would rarely get himself in a situation where parents would have to "go over his head".

Second, Safeb claims he was becoming increasingly aware of the different types of individuals in school administrative positions. Because of this he was, he claims, also more aware of their individual interests. Of course, Safeb states, each administrator is somewhat different, each has his own strengths and weaknesses. Such awareness, Safeb adds, has helped him understand the idiosyncracies of those in school administrative positions.

While perhaps feeling a certain increase in tolerance because of his increased knowledge about the idiosyncracies of school administrators , Safeb has also recognized that he is firmly intolerant toward school administrators who do not support him or, worse still, might directly interfere with his work as a classroom teacher. If these situations ever became the case, he reasons, he would have to personally face the principal or vice principal in a power struggle. The basis of his own strength, should there ever be such a power struggle, he suggests, is his legal knowledge. He further reasons that he is highly aware of legal procedures regarding teaching matters such as curriculum adherence, time on the job, supervision, hiring and firing policies, and so on. Safeb adds that he has become more knowledgable than a lot of school administrators, giving him further confidence, should he ever be unfairly confronted by them.

Safeb's fourth position of strength involves his financial position, once again. Briefly, he reasons, should he ever be pressured unreasonably by his school administrators and, because of that be robbed of the pleasures he claims to derive from teaching, he could quit.

Upon taking this inventory Safeb was satisfied that his position was next to impregnable. Yet, while formulating this position of strength, he was also mindful that he had always enjoyed a fairly good rapport with his principal and his vice principal. He had always had that all-important bond of trust with them. Because of this trust, he adds, his school administrators have always supported him in his endeavours as a classroom teacher. Such a line of support he wished to maintain. While he admitted that it felt good to know of his personal powers as a teacher, he concluded that it was vital for him to do what he could to maintain a good rapport with his principal and vice principal. After all, he reasoned, these individuals, and the principal in particular, were key supporters if Safeb's teaching should ever come under fire. They could offer protection from unfair outside expectations. Also, he adds, he realized they were the ones who faciliated the comradery that existed within the staff. For these reasons Safeb was eager to maintain a good rapport with his administrators.

> Administration at a school is important to teachers. Both the principal and the vice principal can compliment each other. And the principal is the keystone of the school. What he does and the way he does it sets the mood and the pace. Teachers look to him for support and backing. Periodically he is needed by teachers as a sort of protector from outside parties. And if he supports you when others seem to be critical of what you're doing, your job is made much more satisfactory. This is important for the staff to feel together, also.

In closing, Safeb has not experienced much in the way of school administrator-related conflict. However, he has observed some such conflict with his peers. Because of this he tends to be sympathetic toward his peers and somewhat disdainful toward certain school administrators. Such administrators are those who, he feels, are so preoccupied with their own upward mobility that they seem to turn from the interests and needs of their own staff. While such individuals try to build a reputation as good administrators, Safeb adds, they are not good at all. Rather, they alienate themselves from their staffs and trust is barricaded between staff and administrator by the fear and distrust that teachers feel toward the administrator. Yet Safeb takes solace from the fact that he has a considerable position of power, should he ever be confronted by situations of conflict with his principal or vice principal. But Safeb works very hard trying to maintain a healthy rapport with his immediate superiors, recognizing the importance of their support to his own achievement of the immediate rewards he hopes for in teaching, particularly those involving adult relations on his staff. Therefore, Safeb reserves his position of power to be used only if absolutely necessary, leaving it for the time being in a dormant state. (For a detailed summary see Figure 25, Maintaining the Support of the Principal and Vice Principal.)

Dealing with the Impositions of Specialists

This vignette describes conflicts which Safeb feels he was not sensitive to early in his career. After a few years of experience, however, he became increasingly aware of these conflicts. Presently, he reports, while these conflicts do periodically surface, he feels he has them satisfactorily controlled.

Safeb points out that a large portion of his attraction to teach was because he felt being a teacher was a respectable position in life. While he expected to respect the rights of others, he, in turn, expected to receive due respect from those with whom he worked. Among those important in this area, he suggests, were certain adults. For the most part other teachers,

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Safeb observed some school administrators being caught up in their own self-promotion. The results of this preoccupation meant teacher non-support and thus a barrier of mistrust between teachers and school administrators.	Safeb did not directly experience this. He was disdainful of the administrators and sympathetic toward his peers.	Safeb took inventory of his own position of power, should he be faced with an unreasonable principal someday. He also gave legal advice to his colleagues.	His distant involvement and recent inventory relieved this conflict.	Safeb concluded that school administrators could not do a good job and be preoccupied with their own self-promotion. Safeb's power source was connected to his political knowledge about students, parents, his own school administrators, his legal knowledge, and his own financial independence.
Safeb continued to ponder the possibility of his having to face school administrators who were unreasonable.	The matter was still unsettled.	Knowing that he had a substantial power base was good for Safeb's confidence. But, he also knew that he had to maintain a good rapport with his principal and vice principal if at all possible. Therefore, he took responsibility to see that a trusting bond was maintained between him and his immediate superiors. His power position existed in a dormant state as a trump card to be used only if necessary.	Safeb felt more satisfied with this position.	Safeb recognized that support by the school administration is very important to him and other teachers. This support can exist as a screening technique to protect teachers from unreasonable expectations from outside of the school. School administrators also facilitate a happy healthy staff sense of comradery. Such support is so important that it calls for maintenance efforts, not only from the principal and vice principal, but himself as a teacher.

Figure 25. Maintaining the Support of the Principal and Vice Principal.

parents, and school administrators have provided him with this needed respect, he claims. However, specialists (those meant to provide professional development and/or supplementary services to teachers) sometimes seemed to interfere with Safeb. By interfering, he adds, these specialists were actually disrespectful of him and his position as a teacher.

He has provided three examples showing how specialists and he met in such conflicts and how he learned to deal with these conflicts. The first two situations describe face-to-face confrontations between Safeb and specialists. The third describes a broader more general situation involving Safeb and certain specialist agencies.

The first conflict situation Safeb described involved a decision he and a student's parents had agreed upon in order to motivate the boy to do his homework. Together they had decided to take the student's physical education classes away from him until he began working harder in other areas. Safeb was aware that such a decision was against board policy but, in this case, he and the parents felt that this decision might improve the student's learning situation.

> I knowingly, with the support and encouragement of the parents, went against board policy regarding the student missing physical education. We had agreed that if this worked, then, given the situation, we'd try it. This is a case where my sense to use negative reinforcement opposed policy. I reasoned that my professional position would override a catch-all policy.

However, Safeb noted that for a short period of time the new conditions seemed to be working. The student was progressing along better than before. However, the boy went to the school guidance counsellor to complain about losing his physical education classes. As it turned out, Safeb reports, the guidance counsellor opposed his decision to take physical education away from the student.

> A guidance counsellor and I had a run-in over the way I'd treated a particular student and the way he was doing his homework. My diagnosis came down that the child was lazy and could have done the homework. The guidance counsellor was approached by this student and in turn came back to me saying, "He just can't do it."

Safeb's initial reaction was to feel irritated. He reports having had two reasons for feeling this way. First, the child had not discussed this problem with Safeb or his parents. Seeking to retain his physical education classes, the student chose to gain support from the guidance counsellor. But, Safeb claims, the student did not tell the whole story, misleading the guidance counsellor. Therefore, the counsellor was "fooled". While feeling somewhat angry toward the student, however, this feeling was largely directed at the counsellor for accepting the complete story of the student.

> I was very upset because the student made an appointment with the guidance counsellor. Rather than face the music in the class the student saw an easier way to deal with the situation, which was not do homework and still retain the right to take P.E. This occasion bothered me because the kid comes back with a great big smile on his face. And the guidance counsellor comes in and gives this big spiel. And he's been snowed and doesn't know it. The student is playing us off against each other and he's got one of the two of us fooled.

The second reason Safeb initially felt irritated over this new turn of events was because the counsellor did not think to check with Safeb to confirm or deny the student's claim. Instead, the counsellor directly challenged Safeb's right to take the student's physical education classes away. What the counsellor did not know of was the parents' involvement in this decision.

> Being placed in a situation whereby somebody was challenging what I was doing without really being aware as to what was happening to me in the classroom bothered me because the counsellor was infringing upon my rights. In this case I had been circumvented. Having the counsellor tell me I was wrong, knowing he didn't have the complete facts, was maddening. He didn't know what had been happening prior to his arrival. He didn't know that the student's parents had encouraged me to take P.E. away from the student because they knew this technique tended to work well.

While Safeb feels that his initial reaction to the counsellor's intervention was anger, he worked very hard to suppress this emotion. He reports that he would have liked to lash out at the guidance counsellor. But he chose to try to "preserve the peace", explaining the whole situation to the counsellor.

> I would have like to tell the guidance counsellor he was "stupid" but, as I have to work with him, decided not to hurt his feelings. So I tried to be tolerant of the guidance counsellor's views. But he had overstepped his boundaries and I was angry inside, partly because I could see he was wrong, but I had to preserve the peace.

Overall, Safeb reports, his decision to show patience in this situation was better than insulting the counsellor. This notion was later confirmed in his own mind by the fact that he and the counsellor were able to work together rather well in future cases.

The second conflict situation Safeb described involved work he was doing with a special student who required an individualized program. He remembers how he struggled, at first, in trying to understand more about the student.

> This student's abilities were retarded. I was at a loss as to how much to expect of her and when. I needed guidance regarding this student's capacity and the rate of learning I could expect from her.

Eventually, he reports, he finally began making headway. He had written a program for the student and it seemed to be working. But then someone from the school board sent a special education consultant out to assist Safeb. The consultant was presumptuous and because of that, Safeb felt, she was insulting.

> I was working on this program but the system sent a consultant out to help me. She told me what I should do. And I kept saying that, "I'd already done that." She didn't really come out with any interest in understanding what I knew about the situation. She assumed I knew nothing. This was an insult to my experience, my training, and to me. Actually the help was needed more before I wrote up a program than after. Once the writing was done it was easy to implement. I didn't know how much information I should require of the student.

Once again Safeb felt that a specialist had imposed unfairly on him. Again he initially felt irritated. Yet, he reports, something inwardly told him to suppress this anger. Lashing out at the consultant would not get him anywhere. Instead he listened and talked with the specialist. At first it looked like her visit was going to be a total waste of his time, he felt. But after their conversation they mutually agreed that she would observe him in action in his classroom. The results of her observation, Safeb states, proved to be rather fruitful, making him grateful that he had not followed his first instincts, to become angry with the specialist.

> We talked for an hour and a half. It was a complete waste of time, effort, and energy. So she sat in on my class and I think we both got more out of that session because she watched what I was doing and could offer constructive advice on that basis. By doing this she was less presumptuous and became another set of eyes focused on this girl's program.

Safeb feels that having experienced situations of conflict, such as the two described thus far in this vignette, has made him more cognizant of the types of behavior required of himself and specialists. His claim, as well, is that he can now more capably deal with such situations should they arise once again. As a result of his reflections on these two examples he offers the following rules of conduct.

1. Students are the primary responsibility of the classroom teacher. For that reason the classroom teacher must have the first opportunity to deal with his students without interference from specialists.

> If Johnny doesn't know how to read it is my responsibility as a teacher to do everything that I possibly can do to teach Johnny how to read. If I'm having problems I don't say, "Well, Johnny can't read so that's it. You go down to the office and see the resource room teacher and see if you can work out a timetable for yourself over there." I don't buy that. You try to set up a program. You see where he's reading. And you proceed from there. And it might be you can get him started and teach him to read without calling in a specialist. But personally I take every child as an individual that has potential. And I try to develop that potential. And I never throw up my hands and say, "Oh well, that's just so and so. So who the hell cares?"

2. If assistance is needed regarding a student's welfare in the classroom, teachers should be given the opportunity to ask for that assistance rather than have specialists arrive uninvited.

> A student's problem is my problem. I prefer in such problem cases to work alone initially. If I need help I sometimes look to the parents. And, yes, I will approach office staff such as the guidance counsellor. But that is my right to work on the situation first and to invite outside parties in to assist. Now if I had said, "I can't handle this situation. Would you please do something about it?", I would be quite receptive to specialists' advice. So, it is one thing if I ask for help. If there are certain students that I know require help and I'm not able to give it to them, I will refer them for special assessment, etcetera. But the thing that bothers me is when a person, like a specialist, just walks in.

Safeb feels that there are times when a specialist could find it necessary to intervene in a situation involving a student. But, he warns, there are also certain rules to abide by when this occurs.

1. Before becoming seriously involved in a problem concerning a student, check with his classroom teacher.

2. Intervention with a student in a problem situation could be appropriate if the classroom teacher is not present. But, even then, intervention should be done as a temporary solution, to be referred on for a more lasting solution to the classroom teacher.

3. Specialists should be very careful about accepting a student's explanation at face value, especially regarding a complaint about a teacher.

4. If a specialist finds he needs to investigate a situation involving a teacher-student confrontation or a situation where the teacher may need assistance in a subject area, do not approach that teacher in a presumptuous manner. Expect and accept that the classroom teacher will have a rational informed point of view.

5. Above all, when circumstances lead a specialist and a teacher to a face-to-face confrontation, it is much better for

both to suppress any anger they might feel towards each other. The reason is because both will find their jobs more difficult to do if antagonism is allowed to breed between them. With patience the conflict can be cleared-up and a solution gained.

The third conflict situation Safeb described did not involve a face-to-face confrontation with a specialist. But, he points out that he was bothered very early in his career by the work of certain specialist agencies. His concern involved the ideas about education presented to him by specialists. For instance, he found that totally accepting such ideas was not rewarding for him. This was because acceptance and an attempt to apply specialists' ideas, in the form explained by specialists, never seemed to work. Safeb remembers that his own pre-service training was a good example of specialists trying to present him with their ideas on education. In those days, he remembers somewhat bitterly, if he was to get his teaching certificate, he had to outwardly accept those ideas presented.

> At university I was part of a captive audience. There was always somebody trying to sell you a product there. You had to do the buying. Part of the problem became that I started to see that some university instructors were in left field or right field, or even out of the ball park. But if you wanted a certificate you had to buy and regurgitate what he told you. Therefore I'd say, "Ya, Ya. I'll write this down for the instructor in order to get my credits."

The same problem has continued throughout his career, Safeb claims. He points out that there are a plethora of in-service activities, some of which he presently attends. In almost all cases, he points out, the specialists try to "sell" their ideas, claiming them to be a great "panacea".

> Often I, as a teacher, have been approached about implementing a new method. Usually those representing the new movement are other teachers, consultants, a university, or a commercial organization. They always come on like zealots singing praises of this method as if it will solve all my problems, the great panacea.

But unlike his university experience Safeb has found that he has considerable say, as a teacher, in how useful these ideas are to be. In short, he has found that there is no such thing as a "panacea" where in-services are concerned. Experience has taught him, he adds, to guard himself from the zeal of specialists. Yet, at the same time, he also tries to see the best aspects of the ideas expressed by specialists, adapting them for his own use.

> You've got to guard yourself from this type of salesmanship. If you're naive you'll buy the whole thing and not adapt it to your needs and cause a lot of grief to yourself and your students. Experienced teachers realize that certain things have merits. There are certain things about this system that are good. So you accept that. But you don't buy all the package. You learn to buy just the good things. Take the good things and use them.

Safeb cites a more precise example of ideas presented to him by specialists and where experience taught him to adapt these ideas to his own sense of reality. The following statement is offered at length to show how he altered and adapted information offered to him by specialists regarding the use of positive and negative reinforcement.

> I questioned the total reliance on positive reinforcement with children way back at university. As the years have passed I have seen, time and time again, occasions where theories taught during my teacher training were not absolute. Therefore, I am not afraid to oppose such

> theoretic notions. I feel negative reinforcement is appropriate at times. If you are trying to prevent people from doing something, the best way to do that is to tell them the consequences of their actions. Here I don't just mean the logic of why it isn't nice etcetera. Rather, I mean what the law will do to them if they break the rules. Some people respond better to this. And that's what teaching's all about. It's common sense. You don't get much in the way of results by yelling at kids or telling them they're stupid. But there are times your professional knowledge tells you to use negative reinforcement because you've tried everything else and it hasn't worked. So as a professional I want to try it in this situation. And hopefully it will work. If it doesn't, well then you go with something else. Some educators feel negative reinforcement is bad. But in some cases it works. I would say I am prepared to use anything that works.

Therefore, Safeb partially opposes what he was originally taught and is periodically presented with regarding positive and negative reinforcement, making theoretical notions more practical by altering them to fit the situation he meets. The following comment rather forcefully reiterates his view that ideas or, what he calls "systems", presented by specialists should never to be seen as "catch-alls" by teachers.

> Well, purely accepting these ideas as presented by specialists is garbage! Anybody who's had any kind of experience with discipline realizes that there are kids who will just not have this system or any other system work alone for them. There are a lot of good systems around but none are catch-alls.

Yet, while Safeb's view that the control of student behavior may seem rather decided, he feels his view is not necessarily inflexible. While he is now able to alter and adapt new ideas to fit his own needs, Safeb states that there are times when he can set aside his own position. An example of such a time, he reports, would be if the whole staff needed to standardize their approach of controlling student behavior. Given his say, he states, he would accept the group decision, even if the group wished to go against his own views.

> Usually methods such as discipline are decided by the teacher. However, at most, they become a school issue to be decided on by the principal and the staff together. In this case if I have had input and the decision goes against my opinion, I could comply.

While Safeb is willing to compromise his own views of what is proper procedure in the area of student discipline, he points out that he is not presently in a position where he needs to yield to the group will. Therefore, while being clear on how to handle such a situation, should it arise, it is not presently a problem for him.

In closing, Safeb reports that he dislikes it when specialists seem to interfere, in one manner or another, with his work. Often, he adds, specialists can be presumptuous and disrespectful of his position as a teacher. He accepts that this trend may continue. However, that is not to say that he feels that a dilemma exists because such situations may reoccur. He claims that he has become much better than years previously at recognizing when such conflicts are about to happen. He also claims to be clearer on appropriate actions to take during such times. He feels that specialists should respect the territorial interests of teachers. But, when they impose on his territory, Safeb states that it is far better for him to show patience, tolerance and flexibility to specialists. Acting in such a way, he feels, he can always gain something useful and good from such an exhange, despite a poor start. At the same time, he adds, treating specialists this way is assurance that future exchanges he has with them will not be spoiled. Therefore, Safeb is able to encourage, even under adverse conditions, a respectful atmosphere between himself and specialists. Such an atmosphere, he states, is very important to him and one which he will jeopardize only under the most extreme pressure. (For a detailed summary see Figure 26, Dealing With the Impositions of Specialists.)

Becoming Aware of the Political Decisions Affecting Teachers

The conflict described in this vignette, Safeb reports, was not initially a problem for him. Rather, he claims, it emerged over the years. Presently he feels that he deals relatively well with this conflict. Yet, he admits, this area tends to bother him more intensely than any other area of conflict that he now experiences.

According to Safeb, decisions made about broad educational issues affecting his own job are often made because of political pressure brought to bear on school board and provincial government administrators. He adds that there seem to be vocal minority groups who try to manipulate administrators. Safeb feels these minority groups manipulate by using the media, blaming teachers for doing a poor job and giving others the impression that there must be major changes in what teachers do.

> Minority groups use the media which, in turn, is only too keen to blow things up into something sensational. They are looking to place some kind of blame on people. In this case teachers seem to be the target. Together these small groups and the media give the impression that things are really really bad out there.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Safeb reports that a guidance counsellor confronted him about a decision about taking a student's physical education classes away from him.	Safeb was irritated and wanted to tell the guidance counsellor he was "stupid" because he had been fooled by the student and did not know that Safeb and the parents of the student had been doing a lot of thinking about this situation.	Safeb suppressed his anger, explaining to the counsellor the full situation.	Safeb found that he worked well with the counsellor. Patience was its own virtue, he found.	Safeb could see that "keeping the peace" is very important between him and specialists. It would be a shame to spoil a good association with them, he concluded.
A special education consultant arrived, offering assistance to Safeb. Safeb found the consultant presumptuous and insulting.	Safeb was angry.	Safeb suppressed his anger. He listened to the consultant. Eventually she observed him teach. He found this useful.	Safeb was grateful that he had been patient. He did learn something.	Safeb felt that he was becoming more knowledgeable about handling such conflicts. He established a set of six rules suggesting that the classroom teacher is the most important person to talk to when considering the welfare of a student. Also, he suggests, when a confrontation occurs between a specialist and a teacher, every effort should be made to be patient and tolerant of the other.
Safeb found that face-to-face conflicts were not his only problem with specialists. He experienced difficulty with specialists presenting their ideas in a larger forum.	Safeb was irritated because these ideas, as presented by the specialists, did not seem to work.	Over time Safeb found that it was better to protect himself from being overly enthusiastic about new ideas on education. By the same token, he found it profitable to take only the points from such presentations that he thought would work for him.	Safeb felt that adapting such ideas was a successful approach.	Safeb accepts that specialists will continue to unwittingly intervene periodically. Safeb concluded that there is no such thing as "catch-all" or a "panacea" where education is concerned. Safeb became more sure about altering and adapting the ideas expressed by specialists in conflict situations and still remain positive. Further, while being sure of his ability to alter and adapt ideas to his own purposes, he concludes that he would be able to further adapt and compromise with the needs of the staff should he be required to standardize some of his approaches.

Figure 26. Dealing with the Impositions of Specialists.

Sometimes administrators at these levels are so sensitive, Safeb adds, that they continuously alter and change areas which involve the teacher role. One example of this involves the curriculum. But changes that occur purely as a result of political pressure, he feels, present more problems that had existed before. For instance, the local board made a decision to alter the way Safeb was to teach science. He was expected to offer a great number of laboratory experiences to his students. But such a change was ludicrous, he points out, because his school had no laboratory facilities in the first place.

> The local board did away with the textbook approach to teaching science. Worksheets reflecting a laboratory approach were to be used. However, we have no laboratory. We have only one bunsen burner and no science lab. The worksheet and investigative approach in science won't work here.

Another subject area which has been influenced by political pressure recently is mathematics. Safeb claims that, for some reason, the provincial government has eliminated the teaching of fractions in his grade six program. Being experienced in teaching grade six math, Safeb considered this recent change inconsistent with the rest of his program.

> The provincial government eliminated fractions from the grade six math program. This was internally inconsistent with the rest of the math program.

Generally, decisions seen by teachers as politically-forced are initially met with broad teacher resistance, Safeb claims. He gives three reasons why he and his peers take this position. The first reason is because Safeb and his peers are rarely asked for input about curriculum decisions. The administrators may have asked the public but they did not ask any teachers, Safeb states. Further, he claims that by not checking with him or his peers, those who are responsible for actual curriculum changes will never know that, in many cases, he and his colleagues may have better programs than the new curriculum.

> They may have done studies on the public about these changes and deemed it necessary for the system. My reaction is, why should I have to do this? They may have polled other teachers but they didn't ask me, nor have they asked any teachers I know. Some other teachers often say about edicts, "Well what the hell is going on again. Who's little baby is this?" What bothers them is all of a sudden you have this edict that you'll be using these new curriculum textbooks because some Joe Blow has decided that that is what you will use. You have no input. But the worst thing is that they don't know what is already happening out here. For instance, in math I had developed a better program using a combination of texts involving problem solving and fractions. This course was more rigorous than the watered-down one offered in the new math curriculum. My reaction is, why change? I had a better program that took me some time to develop.

The second reason Safeb feels that teachers initially resist new curricula is because generalist teachers cannot cope with so much change. Math and science are only two areas which have been recently altered. Two other areas which have been changed are language arts and social studies.

> There are too many changes all at once. In the past two years we have had a curriculum change in four major areas: language arts, science, math, and social studies. This is too much for generalist elementary school teachers to do justice to. System-wide changes, particularly curriculum-related, should be done gradually, one per year, for instance.

A third reason teachers initially resist curriculum changes is because sometimes they take curriculum documents too literally. Safeb himself remembers feeling angry and frustrated years before when he was first expected to alter his course due to a change in curriculum material. He expresses sympathy for his peers who continue to experience this difficulty, knowing that such a route will eventually hurt themselves and their students.

> I can see a lot of frustration out there with teachers who take curricula word for word or else they disagree with it, thus teach it half-heartedly. So you feel frustrated and everything else. You're angry, and say, "Hey who's the idiot that gave this?" But some teachers say, "What the hell, I only have a certain amount of time. Why should I be angry and frustrated and so on. I'll teach their dumb course. If that's the text they want me to use I'll do it. Fine, I know the kids aren't going to be getting as much out of it as some other text. But I'll do it anyhow."

Thus Safeb is left with the impression that, where curriculum decisions are concerned, administrators outside of the school are not interested in his input or the input of his colleagues. Further, it seems that the system that he works in will continue to change curriculum at a fast rate, holding teachers responsible for seeing that these programs are implemented. Making such observations Safeb concludes that he and his peers are political pawns in a large political milieu, one where teachers are held responsible without having matching decision-making power. Lastly, he reiterates, whenever things go poorly it is teachers who suffer the disdain of the public.

> While teachers are rarely asked to express their opinions beyond the school level they are the first on the firing line when somebody decides things are not going well enough. So I believe teachers are scapegoats for politicians and for changing situations in education.

But things are not as bleak as they may seem where Safeb is concerned. While feeling angry about the abuse that teachers sometimes get from some quarters, he feels that he has devised certain strategies to counter some of the problems described earlier. The first of these strategies is that, when Safeb finds that he does not agree with a curriculum change, he speaks out about it. Going this route is not without its own frustrations however. For instance, when Safeb first began to see a problem with the new math program he spoke out against the changes. He spoke to his principal and vice principal. However, while they offered support of a sympathetic nature, they offered little direct help. Safeb also spoke with a variety of consultants, subject area specialists, and curriculum specialists in an attempt to counter the new curriculum. Yet the system proved large and cumbersome, still leaving Safeb with his problem.

> When you finally think you are approaching the right person he says, "Well, it's because of the committee". And he's the spokesman for a committee but there's no one person that says, "I am the guy that decided we use textbook "A" as opposed to using textbook "B". It's always, "We the committee" or "Somebody else". But there's nobody else, no individual. So you finally end up resigning yourself to your classroom duties. You want input. But you can't have it. Who do you talk to? The principal? No. The consultant? No. You end up going through a frustratingly long line of individuals, all of whom have input to the curriculum decisions but none who can speak from a position of authority.

Nevertheless, Safeb insists that speaking out is, for himself, the first and most important step in facing curriculum change that displeases him. The following comment shows that he does not always expect to meet with so few results. There is always the hope, he feels, that someone else will join him if he continues expressing his views.

> I've learned, whenever possible, when I disagree with something, I get up there and criticize, realizing the possibilities of getting any changes are very remote. But I always hope that somewhere, one voice crying out in the wilderness, there will be another voice. And then there will be two voices. The thing will grow and eventually maybe the curriculum will change to the way I would like to see the change.

Further, while Safeb feels duty-bound to speak out about unreasonable decisions which influence him as a teacher, there is a point where he can also accept those decisions. Once he has had his say and done his best to influence the system's decision, he says that he is realistic enough to accept the decision and live with it.

> As a teacher I either speak out to change something or I learn to live with it. It is my choice to either attempt to change the system's new expectations or to adapt to it. There is a real world out there that you are living in, and if there are certain decisions that have to be made, and if you can't change those decisions, then dammit, you have to live with them! You might not like what has happened, but you have to live with them.

The second area in which Safeb feels he can counter unfair political alterations to his role as a teacher involves the level and intent of the administrative expectations expressed to him. Three examples of how he responds to various administration expectations are given. The first example Safeb takes from the superintendent's bulletin, stating that generally teachers should emphasize homework more than they have in the past. Safeb recognizes that such a statement is a suggestion, one which he already addresses. Therefore, he feels this statement does not require any major alterations.

> I, as a teacher, read the superintendent's bulletin and note what emphases he sees as important in education. For example, while we've been pursuing the fun aspect of learning, he turns around and suggests students should be doing one to three hours of homework a week. And I do this already. But this change acts as a bit of a guide. Overall, though, I am not about to drastically change my practices because of a bulletin.

However, moving to a second example of how he would receive administrative expectations Safeb offers the other extreme. Whereas a superintendent's bulletin could be taken as a suggestion, requiring little or no change, Safeb explains that some messages from the superintendent's office are more like "decrees" and must be complied with. In knowing the difference between suggestion and decree, Safeb feels he is able to cope adequately with high level administrative expectations.

> However, if word came out like a decree, the principals take note of it and we as teachers are held to complying. And if we must, we must.

The third example of how Safeb has learned to respond to administrative decisions involves curriculum once again. His pattern of response follows. First, he generally peruses a curriculum document, considering which will keep him abreast of recent trends in education.

> I peruse through it. I don't know if you'd call it reading in great detail. But yes, I read it. And I try to find out as much as I possibly can because I am concerned about the students and all this sort of thing. It's my responsibility as being an educator to know what's happening in the world of education.

Second, Safeb tries to adhere to new curriculum expectations because the results of his students will be noted by others. For instance, the new mathematics program is followed each May by a city-wide test. Safeb does not want his students to do poorly. Therefore, he must comply with the new program.

> I do adhere to the new math curriculum guide, even when I disagree with it, because in May we have a city-wide test. I want my students to do well in it before turning to new work.

Third, while he is usually fairly compliant about new curriculum documents, Safeb reports that he is also fairly critical of such material. No curriculum presents a perfect program, he states.

> When a new curriculum guide and/or textbook comes out I look it over. I am generally fairly critical of all documents which will affect my teaching. I assume this material is not and cannot act as a panacea.

Fourth, as an extension of the prior points, Safeb does not interpret curriculum literally. Curriculum documents are guides, and no teacher should attempt word-for-word implementation, he states.

> Thus I take the material as being a suggestion. The guide can never be taken completely literally. You realize that curriculum documents are only guides. They require adaptation to your students and situations in order to be successful. That is the teacher's job. We forget that these things are only indicators sometimes. They are not written in stone. Experience helps you see problems with new curricula. For instance, you are less naive. Word for word application is not possible.

Fifth, the type of adaptation that Safeb speaks of is, despite speaking out periodically, to accept the overall thrust of the curriculum and then supplement its intent with some of his own curriculum ideas.

> So if a text comes out, if I use the text, and I disagree with the text's selection, I will use other materials to supplement the text. If there's a special reading series that we have to use or that we go into, I use that

> reading series. But I supplement it with other materials, as well. So I actually revise my own curriculum. I follow the general curriculum guidelines as sent out by the local or provincial governing body but I supplement it. After all, you have to put something of yourself into each new curriculum.

Sixth, Safeb tries to remind himself, when he feels unhappy about being expected to implement a curriculum that he does not entirely agree with, that it is important to keep a positive disposition for his students' sake. For it is his students, in the final analysis, he feels, to whom he owes his allegiance. Therefore, he must try not to let conflict between himself and higher level administrators interfere with the progress of his students.

> You always keep in mind that it's the students you work with and for. It is their welfare that is in question. You owe it to them to keep a positive disposition toward new mandatory curricula for which they will be held responsible.

Thus, according to Safeb, he adheres to a fairly regular pattern when it comes to facing problems such as those regarding curriculum decisions made by high level administrators in education. He seems fairly critical of such material. If he does not agree with an aspect of the curriculum, he speaks out against it. Having his say, Safeb admits, helps make such curriculum decisions more acceptable, even when these decisions continue to go against his own viewpoint.

Generally, Safeb states, it is necessary for teachers to adapt to the system in which they exist. This is particularly true, he adds, when teachers are held responsible for a job without having a full say in changes which involve their job. To exist in such a system, Safeb concludes, he and his peers have to realistically adapt.

> So the teacher is still frustrated. But he's learned to live with the system. He's become a realist in many cases. If he doesn't become a realist he's going to have a nervous breakdown or something like that. And he's not going to be able to continue teaching for any length of time because of the frustration that he experiences related to others dictating to him what he should do.

The problem of having responsibilities without having a say is not only in the area of curriculum, according to Safeb. He points out that there are a number of other political pressures which result in unfair conditions for teachers. He gives examples to add strength to his argument. First, he has observed the central board of education trying to promote the concept of "school-based budgeting". However, he points out, this concept does not work. It needs to be revamped. But it is required by the board and so everyone is held to suffer through the experiment.

> School-based budgeting was required for each school by the local board. However, the formula worked to the disadvantage of small schools and schools with an independent handicap status, like here. So the panacea of school-based budgeting is failing at this school. It must be revamped.

Second, Safeb feels that the central board has used questionable logic to convince the public that cutbacks in education are necessary this year. Why not next year? Because elections are due, he answers. Thus, Safeb feels, here is another example of where teachers will be forced to suffer from unfair political decisions.

> I feel central office trying to sell me questionable logic, like schools needing to tighten their belts because

> we've got to make up a nine million dollar deficit in one year. However, it is plain to me that this deficit took at least three years to build up. Why do they really want to clean it up this year? Because school board elections are this fall.

Third, Safeb cites an example of where the provincial government is trying to cut back education costs in a similar way to the local board. The result, he feels, is that teachers will suffer from such cutbacks.

> The provincial government is trying to do a similar snow job. The Minister has announced that school board grants will be held to only five per cent increase. That won't even keep up with inflation. In the meantime the oil companies are being given five point five billion dollars as an incentive to drill for more oil. When the Premier of the Province says, "Kids are our most valuable resource.", and then does something like that, I really start to wonder.

Fourth, again from the provincial level, Safeb cites an example of the Minister of Education reintroducing grade twelve examinations. But the examinations are simplistic and as a result of that, unfair, Safeb argues. Again, he feels, teachers are stuck with having to comply with a bad political decision.

> The Minister of Education has called for the reintroduction of standard exams. However, the tests are given before the grade twelve year is finished. It covers too much material, three years. And it claims to supply standard information for universities and prospective employers. I question all of that.

Fifth, Safeb cites an example from his personal experience as a salary negotiator. He was shocked to find the local board negotiator taking advantage of the poor public image of teachers by including an improved image as part of the bargaining package. Safeb had previously seen the board's role as involving the promotion of a positive teacher image to the public. He changed his view because of this situation, then seeing board members more as politicians and of being capable of stepping aside when public criticism of education increases, leaving teachers to face the criticism alone.

> Teachers are indeed scapegoats for politicians. This has been confirmed in my mind by a salary bargaining situation. The way the board negotiator spoke about us, he said, "You are suffering from poor P.R. We can help you improve it." So I think teachers are dumped-on by upper level administrators as well as politicians. They hold themselves apart from the direct line of fire but seem to think they can intervene when they want.

Sixth, Safeb feels that the public, in general, places blame for the poor showing of students in recently published test results on the shoulders of teachers and their teaching techniques. The public should not be surprised to get such results, Safeb argues, because teachers are working under the policy of "automatic promotion". Nobody fails. More students stay in school. No wonder, he adds, there are so many students who do poorly. Years age, such students were not included in test scores because they would drop out of school. But the public does not get that viewpoint, he adds.

> It's unfair to lay onto teachers the shortcomings of education in general. For instance, automatic promotion means that anyone attending school for twelve years will graduate. Natural selection used to weed out those not interested in making an effort toward their own learning. It's not surprising that today a number of students are poor at reading and writing.

Such examples fortify, in Safeb's mind, the opinion that teachers do indeed suffer from a poor public image. But, he feels, they are criticized unfairly. He often speaks out against general criticism of teachers himself. He argues that he and his peers care deeply about their students. They work harder and do a better job than teachers did years before. Nevertheless, he adds, the morale of teachers is presently low, particularly when they are publicically criticized.

> I become annoyed mostly when at social functions people make derogatory remarks about teacher competency. That's garbage! I feel I am cornered and must defend my colleagues. And much of the public criticism of teachers is unfair. Teachers care about their students. They are always willing to change and improve. I believe teachers are teaching better now than ever before. But teacher morale gets particularly low when the public and the administration seem to be down on teachers.

From experiences such as those described Safeb has concluded that part-truths and misleading statements are common in the political forum in which education exists. Worse though, he feels, is that teachers suffer from such political gamesmanship. Treating teachers as scapegoats is intolerable, he states, adding that they need input to shape their own destinies. By including teachers more in politically-related decisions in education, Safeb argues, many problems would be eliminated.

> We'd eliminate many problems that we presently have that have been created needlessly by administration if teachers had input into the decision-making process. The main problem is that teachers are not consulted about changes which involve them. But they are held responsible. Therefore, they need more chance to express their points of view. Teachers are treated as non-persons because nobody wants to ask them for their opinion. Generally speaking, teachers, right or wrong, feel they don't have input into the decision-making process.

Teachers generally are interested in such input, Safeb suggests. Teachers should be treated with dignity by, for example, being invited to prepare briefs and to take part in discussions about proposed system-wide changes. The results of such input, he adds, might require administrators and politicians to be a little more convincing to teachers than they are presently.

> If the system really cared for teachers they would show it best by asking their opinions, because I believe ninety per cent of all teachers are interested in this type of input, particularly where their subject and/or grade level is concerned. Teachers have to be involved in order to represent decisions made regarding the way they will teach. It's a matter of involvement now or complaining later. Professional teachers see this. And, for the most part, the teachers I have worked with are professionals. Teachers should be invited to prepare briefs and take part in discussions about proposed changes. These change proposals should be announced in the superintendents' bulletins and the A.T.A. publications. And teachers might decide, "Hey we don't want to change what we're doing because we're doing a good job." And maybe the onus would be on central office or the provincial government to show teachers that the job isn't being done and that it can be done better.

In closing, Safeb says that he will quit, as a final act of retaliation, should teachers continue to be abused publicly and forced to tolerate unfair decisons involving their jobs. His comment about decisions related to teacher-student ratio and teacher preparation time bear this out.

> I care enough about teaching that, if I feel I can't do the job of that I am not doing the proper job, I would rather quit rather than saying as many do, "The hell with you. You want me to teach fifty kids? So maybe twenty-five of those kids will learn absolutely nothing from me. But that's their tough luck." I don't look at it that way. Rather I'll say, "To hell with this noise." I'm going to throw in the towel because I can't cope with fifty kids in the classroom, or thirty hours of straight teaching per week without prep time. We don't have enough time as it is. If these things happen, then I am definitely not going to be able to cope with the situation and do a good job.

The conflict described in this vignette was initially not important to Safeb. However, it increased substantially over the years and, he reports, is the most intensely felt role-related conflict in his life at present. The magnified intensity of this conflict has been counteracted by a number of strategies he has honed during this time, as well. Nevertheless, he does admit that these strategies are not always enough to diminish his frustrations. For that reason, he concludes, an early retirement may be necessitated despite his love of the profession. Having this outlet, he agrees, is in itself an additional strategy to counter this conflict. (For a detailed summary see Figure 27, Becoming Aware of the Political Decisions Affecting Teachers.)

DISCUSSION

Critical Conflicts Perceived by Safeb

According to Safeb most conflicts that he experienced earlier in his career have diminished somewhat. However, two remain as worthy of his attention.

The first of these two conflicts involve Safeb's personal aspirations. During the initial years of his career Safeb experienced some difficulty in attaining the types of results he wanted from his teaching. During those years, he admits, he was unclear as to what he aspired to do, teach or administrate. Safeb noted that his family life suffered and his state of health was deteriorating. This problem was largely due to his extra effort pursuing what seemed to him to be two different careers. Today Safeb insists that this area no longer presents a serious problem. However, he does admit that the satisfaction he derives from a balance between personal and professional work is periodically tested by other interests and expectations.

The second conflict that Safeb experienced earlier in his career and which re-emerges occasionally involves negative

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Initially Safeb felt no pressure in this area. However, in time he began to suspect that high level administrators succumbed rather quickly to public pressure. The effect was that important decisions would be made with little consideration given to teachers. Further, if things went poorly teachers were often blamed for their decisions. He provides examples of curriculum changes in math, science, language arts, and social studies.	Safeb was frustrated and angry. He claims that he and his colleagues tend to resist change initiated in such a way because: 1. No input was allowed to them. 2. Sometimes there is too much change. 3. Word-for-word implementation is possible.	Safeb found that speaking out against unreasonable change was an important step. Sometimes other teachers would join him in this opposition. Yet, to Safeb, the important thing was to have tried. Safeb feels that, over time, he has also learned to interpret the level of intent of certain administrative decisions which might affect him. Some are just suggestions. The important ones are "edicts" or "decrees". Again, using the example of curriculum changes, he offers some steps for adaptation. 1. Keep abreast of curriculum changes. 2. Certain curriculum areas must be adhered to strictly because students will be tested in May. 3. Be critical of new curriculum. 4. Word-for-word implementation cannot be done. 5. Adapt to new curriculum by supplementing it with old material. 6. Keep a positive disposition for the sake of the students.	Safeb feels his strategies work but he is still irked by political gamesmanship at the expense of teachers.	Safeb realizes he has the ability to adapt to the "system". Safeb's view that administrators succumbs easily to political pressure groups is confirmed.

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Figure 27. Becoming Aware of the Political Decisions Affecting Teachers.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Safeb cites other examples where politics in education cause a mismatch between teacher responsibility and teacher input, with teachers being treated as public scapegoats. They are: 1. school-based budgeting, 2. budget cutbacks at the local and provincial level, 3. grade twelve standard examinations, 4. better public relations offered to teachers by board officials as a bargaining strategy, 5. automatic student promotion, 6. teacher-student ratio, and 7. teacher preparation time.	Safeb continued to feel annoyed.	Safeb spoke out at social gatherings. Safeb feels that, if teachers continue to be publically abused and continue to have so little say about their own jobs at a macro level, he may quit teaching.	Safeb continues to feel annoyed because of this situation. While the tensions remain, knowing that he can speak out and, if necessary, quit seems to improve the situation.	Safeb accepts the right of government and public to have input about educational issues. Also, Safeb feels that he and his peers would be better supported by high level administrators if given the opportunity to speak about these issues.

Figure 27 -- continued.

thinking. Safeb explains that he was brought up to appreciate and promote growth and good relations between people. Because of this interest it is no wonder that non-growth or prolonged verbalized negativity would seem to interfere with aspects of his teaching. For instance, he still finds the ambivalence of some of his students upsetting. While Safeb claims that he deeply cares about his students, he has difficulty in dealing with students who do not seem to care about themselves. Therefore, a lack of response by students toward their work has always been taken by Safeb to be a serious problem. But negative thinking is not a trait found only in children, according to Safeb. Parents, for example, sometimes react in a defensive manner and lay the blame for their child's lack of success on the teacher. Teachers, Safeb adds, are also known to indulge in undue criticism and complaint among themselves. Situations such as these occasionally re-emerge into Safeb's consciousness, causing him to feel a little frustrated and irritated.

While two role-related conflicts which stem back to the beginning of Safeb's career are worthy of his attention, Safeb suggests, there are three conflicts that have emerged in recent years which are more intensely felt. The first of these involves territorial by-passing. Safeb highly prizes his autonomy as a classroom teacher. While he accepts the guidance of curriculum documents and their legal authority, he does not appreciate having "document upon document" sent out to him "edicting" his compliance. He resents such mandatory requirements at this stage of his career.

In the same way, Safeb is hurt and angered when specialists try to offer assistance to him or his students without first being asked. Their arrival in such situations is an unwelcome one, according to Safeb.

The second conflict which has recently emerged and which is possibly the most intensely felt by Safeb to date involves the way teachers are treated in general. Safeb has observed that education is a politically vulnerable system. Because of this political vulnerability, Safeb argues, teachers are caught as pawns in a large political milieu. Safeb despairs at times because teachers are subjected to public abuse due to what he calls "political gamesmanship". The greatest problem, Safeb feels, is that teachers are responsible for education but have very little say about its broad direction. It hurts him to see teachers treated poorly publicly, and so often when criticism is aimed at things they have so little say about.

The third conflict which has recently emerged for Safeb is not quite as intensely felt as the one mentioned previously. However, it is closely related to it. This conflict involves what teachers become when they are subjected to authoritarianism. Safeb argues that teachers learn early in their careers to "not rock the boat". This results, he continues, with teachers becoming overly diplomatic and often timid in all aspects of their work. Safeb does not like such a tendency. Teachers become all the more open to abuse by others because they are this way, he adds. But Safeb feels a strong sense of allegiance to his peers. He is sympathetic with their becoming this way and champions their cause when he can.

In closing, Safeb does still experience some role-related conflicts. Of these, two are minor, involving personal aspirations and negative thinking. Three more recent conflicts are slightly more intense. Together these three (territorial by-passing, political abuse and the resulting teacher timidity) form a greater concern for Safeb than the other two. Further, while Safeb is not free from role-related conflicts, his perspective seems somewhat free of the depressed state that one might normally be in if one were subjected to such conflicts. Curiously, Safeb does not seem to react adversely to these conflicts, particularly those of the broad social variety. Rather, there is some intimation that he enjoys or, at least, finds these conflicts invigorating.

Conflict Management Strategies Used by Safeb

As alluded to above, Safeb perceives some role-related conflicts as existing at the present time. Yet, many of those conflicts have diminished over the years, he reports, and the ones which remain are well enough in hand that he actually might consider some of them as contributing to his life as a teacher, rather than as detracting.

Analysis of the interview data indicates that Safeb primarily uses six conflict management strategies to meet present conflicts. The first of these strategies is "retreating". Safeb usually chooses to maintain the rapport that he enjoys with all adults with whom he comes into immediate contact. He uses terms such as "trying to keep the peace" and "trying not to hurt the feelings of others" regularly, an indication of his interest in maintaining their support and friendship. Examples of his willingness to retreat were cited when he met in conflict with specialists who intervened without invitation and when other teachers indulged in undue negativity. In cases such as these Safeb has shown that, rather than outwardly opposing the other interactors, he would often prefer to tolerate their actions, even though internally he would not agree with them.

The second strategy that Safeb uses to meet conflict is "verbalizing". In recent years Safeb has become aware of broader educational conflicts that exist outside of his school. He claims that, along with this awareness, he has become more critical of educational decisions made at a high level. He refers to such decisions as "edicts", "decrees", and "sales pitches". Often, he states, these decisions initiate mandatory changes, prescribing to Safeb and his peers exactly what and how to teach. Such politics of education often lead to public abuse of teachers, he adds, because teachers cannot satisfy all those expectations. Thus, he feels the educational system, as it is, is disdainful of teachers, showing little or no respect for their views, particularly their difficulties. But, while Safeb feels angered over this seeming miscarriage of justice, he has also found a satisfactory way to vent this anger. He speaks out. He finds a principal, vice principal, committee chairman, or association council who will listen to his concerns. His hope is that some of his peers will join him.

The third strategy that Safeb depends on to manage conflicts is "accepting". This strategy, for Safeb, is closely related to verbalizing. Once again, it relates to high level educational decisions. After having spoken out against or at least questioned certain decisions, the conflict that Safeb had sensed before, he suggests, tends to diminish. Safeb explains that he is satisfied that he has done his part to represent the profession. Feeling this way helps him accept that some disagreeable decisions will continue to occur despite his wishes.

The fourth strategy that Safeb uses to meet conflicts is "anticipating". Safeb claims that many of the earlier difficulties he has met are now eliminated because of his ability to foresee those difficulties before they arise. Examples of his skills of anticipating were cited in a number of face-to-face situations. For instance, Safeb adheres to a number of rules which eliminate conflicts with other teachers, specialists, parents, as well as his principal and vice principal. Safeb has also defined personal priorities to guide how much time he is to put into his teaching, being mindful of "giving his family a break". Further, he has the means and rationale to guide his future, both in the area of financial security as well as vocationally. One more example of Safeb's development of the anticipatory strategy is his ability to foresee many of the difficulties he and his students could meet in the future. He knows that some students will not like being pressed to do well. Yet, he claims, he is equipped to face this area of conflict, anticipating student difficulties and encouraging them to do well.

The fifth strategy that Safeb uses to manage conflict is "negotiation". This strategy he uses largely at a high administrative level. For instance, once he has voiced his opinion about a new curriculum, Safeb usually accepts the decisions represented by this document. But he knows that total compliance to a curriculum is not realistic. Therefore, he adjusts to its requirements as much as he can. The negotiation, in this case, occurs in Safeb's supplementing some of his own curriculum ideas with the new curriculum requirements.

The sixth of these strategies is "associating". Earlier in his career Safeb depended rather heavily on others, particularly his principal and vice principal, for advice related to conflict. While he continues to abide by things he learned from this early advice, he does not seem so dependent on others in this area anymore. But periodically, he reports, he needs a sympathetic "shoulder to cry on". When he finds someone has been unreasonable and he chooses not to pursue the discussion, he looks to his wife or a colleague from another school for this sympathy. Sometimes Safeb simply needs a "sounding board" and sometimes someone to laugh with about the ridiculousness of the situation. Overall, this strategy seems to offer Safeb a cathartic relief.

In closing, Safeb feels that pressures from role-related conflicts have decreased for him over the years. This trend, he suggests, is because he is better equipped to deal with these conflicts. He suggests that he is more tolerant of others and more capable of "keeping the peace" than years before. While he feels macro level conflicts have increased, he admits that this area, while providing tension in his life, also stimulates him to use some skills which he has developed to counter them. In a sense, Safeb has joined the political forum in which, he claims, teachers do so poorly. As well, he holds a "trump card", just in case conditions become intolerable for him, suggesting that he can and will quit his hob. The six strategies discussed herein act as the basis of Safeb's repertoire for dealing with role-related conflicts. Using this repertoire, Safeb claims to maintain a satisfactory balance between what others expect of him as a teacher and what he feels are reasonable expectations of his teacher role himself.

Future Orientation towards Role Expectations

Analysis of the data suggests that Safeb's outlook toward future role expectations has changed in three major areas. These areas are discussed under the headings: A position of confidence; A clarification of rewards; and A clarification of responsibilities.

A position of confidence

Safeb emerges from his experiences of role conflict, like the ones described in the vignettes, confident that he can continue to deal with role conflicts in the future. This confidence seems to be derived from three sources. The first of these sources of confidence appears to be Safeb's legal knowledge about what teachers have to do and what they do not have to do. He sees his colleagues as having a deficiency in this area, making them timid when facing authority. He, on the other hand, views himself in a rather powerful position because he knows the legal rules that apply to his job.

The second source of Safeb's confidence to deal with role conflicts is his practical knowledge. For instance, regarding his students, he feels he understands their interests, needs, and capabilities. He is familiar with the content of present curricula and has had no difficulty adapting to new ones. He feels he is an expert at organizing learning experiences for his students. Further, he feels he has had a good number of successes with students over the years. He has received direct feedback regarding this success from not only students but other teachers, administrators, and parents. But possibly the most important type of feedback has been Safeb's own observation of his successes. The following statement gives an indication of Safeb's view that his confidence has grown considerably over the years. This confidence, he emphasizes, is because of direct experience.

> I am definitely better now at handling these problems than I was years ago. Experience breeds confidence. And it's one thing to take courses or read books but it's another thing seeing the thing in operation. And as far as I am concerned there are many cases whereby you learn from practical experience. And the experiences that you have better qualify you to handle that special problem than actually spending a whole year and dealing from a textbook with some of these problems. So the work experience over a number of years has given me confidence. As a beginning teacher, when I began teaching, I wasn't sure of myself. I wasn't sure of the level that the kids were working at. I wasn't sure of the content that I was required to present, and all this sort of thing. And I had a tendency to worry. Was I expecting too much from the kids? Not enough? But over the years, as I have gained experience in teaching, I have developed a lot of self-confidence.

Not only Safeb's confidence has grown because of his increased political knowledge regarding students. He feels he has also learned a great deal about unwritten rules of territoriality and etiquette, allowing him to be successful in dealing with other teachers, administrators, specialists, and parents.

Finally, another area where Safeb seems to feel his confidence has grown is in the political milieu. Safeb feels he has gained considerable knowledge about the workings of how high level decisions are made. Because of this type of knowledge he claims he has become less naive and more critical of decisions made regarding teachers. Becoming this way, Safeb argues, has made him less likely to be fooled by others zealously trying to convince him about new program ideas, for example. He has become a conservative regarding such in-coming ideas to education and sees his being this way as a protection from over-involvement in what are often fruitless ventures.

The third point, regarding Safeb's source of confidence to deal with role-related conflicts, involves his outside interests. Safeb is relatively free of financial burden. He has extensive outside interests in a family business, politics, and community affairs. He is a man with places to go, seeing a bright future for himself. He is not locked into teaching. Having so many options open to him is his trump card, allowing him to see his role as a teacher as a convenience, a role which he can continue or terminate whenever he chooses.

A clarification of rewards

Another major outcome of Safeb's experience with conflicting expectations involves an apparent clarification of what Safeb feels he can reasonably expect from his teaching. Safeb sees teaching as a highly rewarding experience because of the opportunity it gives him to interact with people. He is gregarious and enjoys the company of people of all ages. He sees in his work with students a sense of satisfaction, a satisfaction, he feels, because of the service he provides to his students.

In his work with adults Safeb feels he is respected by the principal and vice principal, other teachers, and parents regarding his teaching ability. As well, because of the additional work he does as a teachers' association representative, he feels his peers further respect him for his legal knowledge and show gratitude toward him for his willingness to share this knowledge.

Safeb claims that the satisfaction felt from his interactions with adults has remained intact over the years. However, an important change has taken place. He has found that an outward show of recriprocation by others to his own efforts is not as necessary as it was during his earlier years of teaching. He suggests that he is able to hold out longer for compliments and other forms of positive reinforcement, finding his rewards more through his own observations than through direct verbal confirmation by others.

Safeb has learned to balance the above rewards derived from teaching and the rewards that he derives from time spent with his family as well as business, political, and community interests. But seeing to interests out of school, Safeb reports, has called for him to decrease time and effort on his school work over time. Yet, he claims that this decrease has not detracted from his success as a teacher. Further, he suggests that he has become a more complete and satisfied person and, thus, a better teacher, as well, because he has given so much time and effort to these other interests. While Safeb is aware that such rationale is criticized by some other teachers, he simply notes that many teachers put too much time and effort into their teaching, observing that they are the ones who become disenchanted and, ironically, less productive in the long run.

Generally speaking, Safeb feels he has become more reasonable in terms of what rewards he can expect in teaching over the years. He feels many of his colleagues expect too much from teaching and suggests that they should also look outside of their profession for other rewards and a better balance in life.

A clarification of responsibilities

Another important outcome of the conflicts Safeb has met over the years, he suggests, is a clarification of what he might realistically put into his teaching. Such chosen responsibilities are closely aligned with the rewards already described. Following is a brief description of those responsibilites.

Undoubtedly the strongest responsibility that Safeb presently feels is in the personal area. Time with his family needs to be protected from a general tendency to overwork in teaching, he states. By the same token, Safeb rates the importance of his own personal development very high, claiming that effort put into areas of business and politics secure his future and assure his good performance as a teacher, as well.

While Safeb's personal life ranks as his most important responsibility, one should not be led to believe that teaching is necessarily unimportant. Safeb feels that he deeply cares about those with whom he comes into contact through teaching.

Foremost of these others are his students. It is to his students, he claims, that his primary teacher role responsibility lies. Anything regarding the welfare of his students, while they are in school, is his concern. Safeb sees himself as their mentor, one who challenges and holds them to task, and one who encourages them toward attaining their potential. He feels he best offers them basic skills and tries to lead them to a level of competency which will allow them to proceed successfully on into junior high school. While Safeb does not expect all students to have the same ability, he feels that most students he has can master a standard which he sets for them. Above all else, Safeb expects students to strive while they are with him. He suggests that he gives it his best with each student and expects the same from them. However, he adds, there are times when a student does not respond to his challenges. In such a case Safeb knows the best way is to worry less about such a student and leave ~~him~~ to his own resources for a time. Then, if the student does not respond to Safeb, the student will be referred to someone who might have more success. Thus, Safeb does not blame himself for failure, nor, he claims, does his sense of caring diminish.

> Being in education you have to care for kids, for people, regardless of what level you're at. And the thing is, you try and do the best that you possibly can to develop their potential. But, also with that comes the realization that there are certain kids, for one reason or another, who are not willing to accept your help, or to accept you teaching them anything. Now, there are very few of these individuals, and maybe at one time it did bother me when I first began teaching that, "Hey, this kid I better XY for. He is not responding. What the hell am

> I doing wrong?" Whereas now I will try XYZ, and if the kid still isn't responding I don't blame myself for the kid's problems anymore. I can leave him on his own for awhile or I can refer him to some other person to look after his needs. So now I feel better about myself. I don't go home and worry about kids all the time and not sleep.

Another important responsibility, Safeb claims, is reporting to and generally interacting with the parents of his students. While he is not one to use parent volunteers in class, he has come to see that nurturing their support is necessary. The pay-off for this effort appears if and when their child experiences difficulty in class.

> I feel that I am in partnership with parents, particularly when a child is experiencing some difficulty.

Safeb feels a strong sense of responsibility to contribute to other teachers. This responsibility is to both his immediate staff members and the general teaching profession. He sees other teachers expecting him, like themselves, to contribute to staff activities such as supervision, serving on committees, and offering to do extra curricular activities with students. But, possibly more important, Safeb has become known by his peers as a legal specialist with interests in teachers' association business. For that reason they re-elect him yearly to represent them. This role he feels is another major expectation that other teachers have of him.

Finally, Safeb sees his responsibilities to administrators at various levels as an authoritative one. He feels that school administrators expect him to teach competently, to assist students' progress towards the next grade level, and to keep parents informed and respond to their concerns. As well, he feels these officials expect him to generally adhere to curriculum expectations and contribute and adhere to maintenance roles and decisions pertinent to teacher group activities. To Safeb these expectations are indeed reasonable, and he tries to be compliant, feeling that to uphold such responsibilities will assure him of administrative support. He feels he needs such support in order to fulfill his own role.

In closing, Safeb claims that he is better able to balance the various expectations of his role than he was earlier in his career. He feels he satisfactorily represents the expectations of others. As well, he feels he satisfactorily represents his own personal interests and needs where his teacher role is involved. In balancing these two sets of expectations, it perhaps is not surprising that Safeb has developed two seemingly very different viewpoints. On the one hand, he enjoys people. He is both gregarious towards and tolerant of them. He nurtures the support of others and tends to be extremely compliant with the needs of those others. On the other hand, when immersed in the political milieu, Safeb appears to lack trust in authorities. For that reason he seems, in this area, extremely critical, and even aggressive toward others. So, on the one hand, for Safeb, there seems to be harmony and serenity; on the other hand, opposition and debate. Yet, the two viewpoints do not seem to clash. One is aimed at individuals, the other at a system. Both, to Safeb, appear to be satisfying and, at times, invigorating positions upon which to base future actions.

CHAPTER VIII

MARGARET

Introduction

Margaret is thirty-nine years of age, married, with two elementary school-aged children. She has an Honors B.A. Degree in geography and a Bachelor of Education degree which she gained with distinction. She has had teaching experience with six- to eight-year-old children in the western European country of her birth before she came to Canada. She is presently at her third school since becoming a staff member with the board of education of a large western Canadian city. She has taught grade one exclusively until this year when she took on a split grade one-two assignment.

When the researcher of this study first met Margaret he was a faculty consultant. His assignment was to supervise a student-teacher working with her. Originally working with Margaret, then, made her easy to approach regarding her possible involvement in the study.

Margaret was the researcher's choice as a subject to do a pilot in preparation for the main study. The reason for this was that she was interested in being involved but had only twelve years teaching experience. The latter point would have excluded her from the original selection criteria, stated earlier. But involvement in a preliminary study was possible. So together, the researcher, the thesis committee, and Margaret decided to go ahead, with the understanding that the data provided from the pilot study would very likely not be used as part of the final thesis data. The reasons, of course, were because of Margaret's lack of teaching experience and the possibility that, as the researcher experimented with the interviewing and analysis techniques, the data might be spoiled.

Margaret proved to be a relatively willing subject, keen to disclose aspects of her life where conflict related to her teaching existed in the past and present. Therefore, as the interviews went on, the data began to provide some interesting insights into Margaret, the person, and Margaret, the teacher. Because these data proved to be so rich the researcher was encouraged by the thesis committee to extend Margaret's involvement in the study. The suggestion was made to include her with the three main subjects.

Three reasons made the above suggestion possible. First, including Margaret's case report as part of the main study would, by adding yet another subject, add further dimension to the data. Second, the researcher had been very careful to follow the research procedures, described earlier, thus being sure the technique used with Margaret was similar to the technique that would be used with the other subjects. Therefore, the data would not be spoiled. Third, and probably most important, Margaret claimed that the research interested her and that she would be pleased to become part of the main study. Therefore, based on the above reasons, it was agreed to include Margaret as the fourth subject of a study which had originally involved only three subjects.

Before continuing on with a description of role-related conflicts which Margaret has encountered, it is important to note that Margaret was rather concerned that her identity be protected. The reason for her concern was because she felt she might be easily recognized in print. For that reason, at her request, this introductory portion has been kept short and relatively free of personal details.

Vignettes of Conflict

Margaret's encounters with role-related conflicts reach back into the past as well as exist in the future. The following seven vignettes attempt to describe important aspects of those conflicts. They are: Attempting to Juggle Teaching and Domestic Responsibilities; Establishing More Realistic Expectations of Students; Reaching an Adequate Level of Contribution to the Staff; Learning the Value of a Good Teaching Reputation with Parents; Establishing Fair Job Expectations with the Principal; Minimizing Interference by Specialists; and Becoming More Closely Associated with Board and Department Officials.

Attempting to Juggle Teaching and Domestic Responsibilites

The conflict described in this vignette grew as an outcome of increased responsibilities. Therefore, initially it was not a major problem for Margaret. By the same token, it seems to have passed its most difficult stages, according to Margaret, as she claims that her present situation is a little more tolerable now than it was a few years ago. For a full description of this conflict it is necessary to go back to a time before Margaret had considered teaching as a career.

When she first contemplated a career, Margaret stayed away from the teaching profession. She did so, she explains, because her father had taught and she could not see pursuing the same field. It was not exciting, nor did it seem to Margaret to be a rewarding occupation. ~~So~~ she set out as a social worker. But this endeavour lasted less than a year. It was a depressing fatiguing business and, she reports, her clients were pathetic. Their situation in life usually involved a mental or physical handicap. As well, she adds, despite her efforts, it seemed she was of little effect in improving the conditions in which her clients lived. While it was true she did have the opportunity to work with children, as she had hoped, the conditions were too sad for her to bear.

Margaret reports that she yearned for a situation where she could savour her successes. Just knowing she was doing good for someone in social work seemed bleak and empty. It did not present her with immediate enough results. She needed to see these results, she explains. She wanted to work with young people, and particularly young people who were strong, healthy, and enthusiastic. Thus, despite her early hesitation, she turned to the public education of young children.

> That's why I like grade one in a normal public school situation, because you can see the progress the children have made in one year. And it's tremendous. And the higher grades are just a continuation. But they come in grade one and they're fresh and new and enthusiastic. And while not everything they learn is due to me, I can see that much is.

Another reason Margaret looked to teaching was because it seemed to her to be a chance to escape the close control of an immediate superior. She yearned to find work where she could be relatively self-sufficient. As an elementary school teacher she felt she might be free from what sometimes seemed to her to be the unfair expectations of an adult world. Instead, she would be able to enjoy the unthreatening environment offered by children.

> Children are a lot more accepting and understanding than adults. If you say, "I'm sorry, I've just been too busy, I haven't got time", that's enough for them. And, in this way, they are no threat at all. They have absolutely no hold over your life in that regard.

So Margaret feels that she came to the teaching of young children because social work did not suit her needs. She reports that she was attracted to work with young children, particularly during a period of their school lives that precedes the need for a rigid curriculum. Early childhood in education, she felt, was the point where childish innocence was still preserved, where cookies, treats, and field trips were common. This situation, too, would free her from the critical eye of a superior, a concern which she had become all the more sensitive to. Teaching, at this level, Margaret felt, would present fewer things to be unhappy about, a far cry from the depressing situation of a social worker and a return to the very occupation she had originally set out to avoid.

Margaret was happy as a teacher. But, in her earliest years, she remembers the long evening and weekend hours she was required to spend readying herself for upcoming lessons. The long hours were a problem but, she adds, she was single then and her hours were her own. However, when she became married and undertook a family, she found this problem became magnified. Her husband, being career oriented, was too busy to handle many of the domestic duties. Being left with domestics as a major responsibility became a serious problem to Margaret as she had not only to ready herself for school but see to it that the needs of her own children were met and her general household was kept in order. Together, Margaret reports, these roles were too taxing and she could see that she would have to alter some personal conditions around her in order to cope with her responsibilities. Trying to alter these conditions Margaret refers to as a "juggling act", an attempt to retain the best of each role at the same time as eliminating unreasonable responsibilities. She reports trying to alter her personal conditions in two ways.

The first way Margaret tried to alter her personal responsibilities involved homemaking. She felt that she could not meet all the responsibilities of being a mother and a housewife at the same time as pursuing her own career as a teacher, and there was no way she was going to give up teaching. Therefore, she and her husband agreed to hire a governess who would see to it that household chores would be looked after and that someone would be home when the children arrived there after school. This arrangement was much to Margaret's satisfaction as it allowed her to continue teaching and freed her from a responsibility which she previously had difficulty meeting. The following comment bears out this point.

> I think it would be very stifling just at home all day cleaning house. I would rather pay someone else to clean house allowing me to go out and do something worthwhile. And I'm not suggesting that cleaning house isn't worthwhile. By worthwhile I mean to say I find teaching more rewarding than being at home. Homemaking is an extremely worthy calling. But it is not for me.

The second part of Margaret's juggling act to control her personal responsibilities involved her teaching role. She felt that it was necessary to raise her own level of expertise regarding school management skills to free herself to deal more with out-of-school interests. She has held to this aim over the years.

> It has been my aim over the years to raise the level of my expertise and skill to the point that I will not need to spend as much time preparing to teach as I once did. This would free me to devote more time to family and other interests.

Margaret claims she became successful in her aim to decrease her planning time for teaching, freeing herself as she had hoped. She claims to have done this using certain strategies. First, she claims, she became adept at planning well. Rarely, she states, did she ever have to start a lesson from scratch, as had been the case earlier in her career. Rather, when planning for school experiences she relies heavily on activities she had done previously.

> A good teacher does not have to rearrange and reorganize curriculum materials continuously. To have to replan all over again each time is nonsense. It's mismanagement. You shouldn't have to start from scratch again. If you have to totally reorganize and replan the content each time, then you wouldn't have done a very good job in the first place.

In the same way Margaret recycled materials. Whereas during her early years, she worked very hard developing her own materials, she realized that it would be foolish to lose these materials as they represented a great deal of time and effort. These materials became the basis of her program, she adds, and were adaptable from year to year. Further, the amount of material she chose to retain was streamlined to increase efficiency.

> I feel free to reuse teaching materials. I don't throw a chart away and say, "Next year I'll make a new": You don't teach exactly the same way each year. But you can teach basically the same unit for a number of years. You can refine it and change it. For instance, I have four boxes of charts, cards, and worksheets. These are the basis of my teaching. Most teachers have more. I find to have more is wasteful because much of it becomes lost or forgotten.

Another important reason that has allowed her to decrease her planning time on school matters, Margaret claims, is that she has learned to use time at school well. Her reason for being at school, she states, is to interact with her students. Therefore, while the students are in the classroom, Margaret holds herself to working directly with them. To use this time for planning or other "busy work", she feels, would not help the students and would inevitably impose on her some other time.

> A good teacher uses her time to work with kids or help them. She should circulate around the room to see if the work is properly done and to see if she can help. She should endeavour to give both weaker and better students additional help.

So Margaret attempted to raise her level of expertise and skill in teaching, particularly in planning and group management, in order to allow her to devote more time to family and other interests. The following comment indicates that she feels she has reached that point.

> I am doing more things now than I was when I started teaching. Before, I could devote all my time to teaching. Now I am able to participate in parental duties. So, you see, if I was going home every night, spending hours and hours on school preparation, there would be no way that I could do these other things. But now I can.

Yet, while Margaret felt that her teaching responsibilities were more in hand, it was her domestic duties that began to pressure her. Two areas contributed to this additional pressure. The first of these relates to finance. Margaret and her husband hoped to pursue a lifestyle which they had not had the opportunity to have years before. They could see the opportunity for a nice house and car, a governess for the children, and many other additional items. Thus, if this lifestyle was to be theirs, teaching would not only be a nicety but a necessity.

> If I didn't work we couldn't pay the mortgage. Therefore, I use teaching as an essential means to additional materials for the family. It's not just pin money.

But, Margaret states, while finance presented some pressure, it was not a particularly intense pressure. The reason was because, she claims, the necessity of having to teach was an acceptable trade-off in lieu of the new lifestyle that it made possible.

The second area of domestic pressure added to Margaret's list of responsibilities was much more intense than the first, Margaret claims. It involved parenting. While the governess adequately saw to a large part of the domestic chores and Margaret's husband was contributing "in his own way", Margaret was still the one to have to mastermind the running of the household. Thus, mothering interests began to call for greater attention.

> My commitments in life are largely family and job oriented. While teaching is very important to me, there are many times my family calls for my primary attention over my job. You see, my husband's role is slightly different from mine. He is not required to perform domestic duties like I do. Therefore, he is freer to pursue job-related interests.

Margaret began to truly appreciate the difficulties involved in parenting. She felt that parenting was a more complicated role than teaching. The parent, she suggests, is the child's first and best teacher. Thus, she needs to be well-informed and well-rounded. Continuing, Margaret states that a parent needs to provide her children with a broad range of cultural experiences to supplement their school activities. A parent also needs to hold her children to doing their best, contribute to the maintenance of the family, and address difficulties in order to be of clear conscience. The latter of these points, Margaret adds, may require her, as a parent, to hold to her own sense of right and wrong and emphatically say "No" periodically to some of her children's requests and behaviors.

In order to meet the above responsibilities Margaret found she was required to take time to transport her children to special activities such as dance classes, swim classes, and girl guides. Yet, she found that just dropping the children off at lessons was often not enough. In some cases leaders were required and she had to take a turn. Being one to pride herself in contributing her fair share to such activities, Margaret took on duties leading a girl guide troop, teaching Sunday School, and contributing in various fashions to her children's dance group. These additional demands she accepted as part of her mother obligations. She did not feel locked into them as they were of her own choice and there were, she adds, usually assistants and substitutes who could relieve her, should she be unable to attend some of these sessions. However, along with these activities came committee meetings, workshops, costume-making, and so on. It was here where Margaret experienced her main difficulty. For example, the Guides held evening workshops for prospective leaders. Margaret tried to attend them but found other activities interfered. Besides, much of the workshop was common sense and, she states, it was not worth her time. So, she did not attend any more meetings. She knew she did not have to, as the sessions were not mandatory for her certification. But she still had a niggling sense of doubt that the others at the workshop might think she was callous, she reports.

Possibly a more powerful and yet even more subtle condition of pressure on Margaret's parent role was felt through a dance group in which the children participated.

> I feel somewhat dissatisfied with the choices when I have to respond to requests for support by the dance group. For the most part I feel I have to participate each time I am approached. For instance, I consented to sew for my children's dance group even though I haven't time for it. Cleverly worded newsletters apply pressure on me to participate. I feel instructors and parents will stick up their noses at me if I don't support the dance group for all functions.

Presently additional commitments, like those mentioned above, Margaret tries to meet. But she is not always successful at doing so. The suggestion that she might not be fulfilling her parent role satisfactorily is a sensitive point with her, one which her children are also capable of touching.

> Sometimes my two children press me to attend their activities when I have other responsibilities. They say, "Oh mommy, you're not going to miss that again, are you?"

While presently Margaret feels pressured by domestic responsibilities, such as those mentioned above, she does have certain strategies to manage them. Following are three such strategies. First, in order to remain satisfactorily in charge of the domestic scene, Margaret feels she has had to become a meticulous planner, similar to the way she has learned to plan her schoolwork. An indication of how she plans a household day is that she writes down the day's activities for the governess to attend to the evening before. Details included are such things as: the supper menus, instructions for the governess to pick up the dry cleaning, a reminder about dance class for one of the children, and so on. In planning the day in such a way, Margaret claims, she is able to go to work feeling that things are relatively well in hand at home.

Another strategy that Margaret has developed to assist her in managing additional domestic pressures involves rotating her domestic commitments. She notes that it is not always possible for her to participate in all domestic activities. Therefore, she reasons, it is sometimes necessary to attend to them on a rotational basis. For instance, something is attended to one week and, later, may have to slip back as a less important commitment with another activity taking priority. This technique, Margaret claims, is relatively satisfactory. But, as alluded to earlier, it does not entirely relieve her sense of guilt to meet all commitments.

A third strategy Margaret uses as an attempt to relieve herself from the hectic "juggling" act that she feels she must perform daily involves finding time for herself. Such time, she reports, comes in the evenings when she has no other commitments. While she normally holds firmly to a tight and somewhat rigid time schedule, it is during these moments that she tries to turn off everything and everybody. Yet, even then, Margaret admits that she cannot escape that familiar niggling sense that there are other things to do which are more important.

> While I am usually very busy, I am not always so. I have a tendency to drop everything, my well-ordered timeline included. For example, I sometimes sit back and watch three hours straight of television and forget about the world. I hate myself for this because most of that stuff isn't really worth watching. And I know there are other things that I have to be doing. I feel guilty when I lose time this way. I consider reading Alberta Report, Manchester Guardian, listening to CBC Radio, doing embroidery, or watching serious drama more useful than just flopping down and watching anything. But sometimes I just flop down anyway.

In closing, Margaret claims that she feels slightly less pressure regarding personal conflicts than she did a few years ago. She feels she has several strategies to manage the two major roles which she has chosen to pursue. Interestingly, of these two roles Margaret claims that teaching is less strenuous. Homemaking presents her more consistently with difficulties at the present time, she claims. Finally, she does not indicate that she cannot handle these role responsibilities. However, she does express the view, again using the juggler metaphor, that her juggling act seems to her to be in perpetual motion. (For a detailed summary see Figure 28, Attempting to Juggle Teaching and Domestic Responsibilities.)

Establishing More Realistic Expectations of Students

This vignette describes a conflict which became problematic very early in Margaret's career. It still remains a concern, she adds, but the tensions it once produced have diminished substantially.

Early in her career, Margaret reports, she held her students rather precisely to such things as homework assignments and returning forms and money from home. However, she soon found that it was unnecessary and unreasonable to expect so much from young children. She reasoned that holding students to rigid expectations was not the best way. Thus she adjusted her expectations toward a more tolerant and flexible stand. She no longer held students to deadlines as she had once done. Making such an adjustment in her thinking, she states, caused her to experience less frustration than she had previously and claims that her students began working just as well, if not better, than before.

> I have found over the years, as a mother and as a teacher, that we, as teachers, can cause children some anxiety by insisting on our activities being the only priority in their lives. I have nagged the kids to bring forms, bring money, and do all their work or they'll be kept after school. This has caused me much anguish and frustration, as well. Therefore, I have found it better to be less rigid and more tolerant. Now I do not expect all children to bring all forms or all money on time. Neither do I expect all students to complete the same amount of work done by a certain time.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Margaret tried to stay clear of teaching initially. She chose social work, but found it unsuitable.	Social work depressed Margaret.	Margaret quit social work. She went into teaching after all.	She found her new role satisfactory.	Margaret found that young children in public schools provided her with happy working conditions. These children showed immediate results and were easier to please than those she had worked with before.
Margaret got married. But the additional domestic pressures were too much.	Margaret was fatigued.	Margaret and her husband hired a governess. Also, Margaret improved her planning skills in order to free herself to spend more time on home matters. She established three simple rules to follow: 1. plan right the first time; 2. reuse material; and 3. use school time to interact with students.	Margaret found she was able to do more domestic activities.	Margaret recognizes that she is largely in charge of the upbringing of her own children and management of the home. Her husband will not play a major role in this. Margaret feels that teaching provides her with far fewer conflicts than domestic management concerns. Margaret feels that parenting is more difficult than teaching.
Being able to spend more time on domestic activities seemed to add more pressure, financially and socially.	Margaret felt like a juggler. The pace seemed hectic.	Margaret accepted the financial burden because it brought her the life-style she and her husband desired. She became a notemaker, organizing the governess's day. She found that it was necessary to rotate social commitments. She made sure that she had some personal time where she was not responsible for anything.	Margaret felt relieved by using these strageties. However, she tended to feel a little guilty if she wasn't doing something "constructive".	Margaret presently continues to view her role responsibilities as a perpetual juggling act, one which she feels she has reasonably well in hand. Margaret accepts that juggling of these two roles will continue for some time.

Figure 28. Attempting to Juggle Teaching and Domestic Responsibilities.

This new position, Margaret feels, was made possible for three reasons. The first reason has been mentioned before. It involves Margaret, as the teacher, spending more time getting to know her students. By getting to know their individual strengths and limitations Margaret found that she was better able to put into perspective what she might reasonably expect of each of them. Further, while becoming more aware of such individual expectations, she emphasized that she does not feel she became lax. Rather, she claims to have found an agreeable balance between the extremes of laxity and the rigidity she had been trying to alter before.

> I do not believe in laxity. But I think I've found a happy medium between that and this previous rigidness. I still think I get good results from my students. Those struggling are easy to pick out and spend more time with me. Others are more independent and can work on their own.

The second reason Margaret was able to become more flexible in her expectations of her students was in recognizing something about herself. She came to the view that, like her students, she too had limitations. In light of her own limitations, then, she could accept that there were situations where she could not help certain students. Such students were those, she states, who could not live up to the normal expectations held of students of a regular classroom. These students, she could see, were better under the care of a specialist. She gave some examples of circumstances where such students would not or could not adhere to normal teacher expectations, thus releasing Margaret of her classroom responsibilities for them. Such students include those with learning disabilities as well as those who are emotionally disturbed.

> I would refer children who can't cope in a regular classroom. They should be put into an appropriate situation. Such children as those who seem of average ability but are having a great deal of difficulty with learning to read, for example, rather than children who are fairly dull, because there is probably not a great deal you can do for these children except plod along and get as much help as possible. Another situation is where children scream, yell, throw fits, and refuse to cooperate. They need additional help. Their problems probably start at home and make teaching very difficult. I think these types of children should be referred on or excluded from the classroom for a time.

The third reason Margaret felt successful in having more flexible expectations of her students than earlier involved the general pace of her classroom. She states that, due to her experiences as both a parent and teacher, she has recognized that everyone needs time to recover from the intensity of the school day. For that reason it was necessary for her to relax her pace somewhat, teaching fewer academics. The results, she claims, have been that her students and she, herself, became healthier, more relaxed, giving each of them more opportunity to make ready for further activities.

> You can't let the pace get to you. It's a heart attack situation when you try to get the students to work, work, work. I tend to relax the pace quite a bit and do art nearly every day and have more story time and less formal work time.

In closing, Margaret states that she once experienced a problem where students could not or would not adhere to the expectations she held of them. The problem, she claims, was due to her own rigidness. The answer seemed to be in altering her own expectations.

She did this by individualizing her expectations, referring those whom she could not help, and generally relaxing the pace of her classroom activities, allowing for recovery time from one event to the next. The result, she feels, has been a general diminishment of tension in this area. Her claim now is that students currently give her little reason to feel conflict. However, she adds, she is still aware of this area of concern and it still requires thought on her part to be assured that the expectations she holds of her students are kept reasonable for both them and for herself. (For a detailed summary see Figure 29, Establishing More Realistic Expectations of Students.)

Reaching an Adequate Level of Contribution to the Staff

Originally the conflict described in this vignette was not prevalent, Margaret reports. According to her, as she became more experienced as a teacher and as she became involved more in domestic responsibilities, pressures in this area seemed to increase.

As Margaret's teaching experience increased she began to develop her own curriculum material. This involved a lot of writing, she reports. But with the production of this material came an increasing number of other teachers asking to borrow it. In some cases, she remarks, teachers simply took ideas she had written without asking. In time this tendency on the part of other teachers began to bother Margaret. She began to see that some teachers were too dependent on her. They did not seem to want to think for themselves, she suggests. Further, Margaret felt somewhat compelled to share her ideas because it was generally considered professionally proper to offer ideas to other teachers. But

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Margaret had an early tendency to hold students too rigidly to her expectations. Students could not adhere to her expectations.	Margaret became frustrated.	Margaret decided to be more tolerant of students and to hold more flexible expectations of them. She did this by: 1. observing students more closely in order to individualize expectations ; 2. learning under what circumstances to refer students to the care of specialists ; and 3. decreasing her expectations of all her students.	Margaret found both she and her students seemed happier. She felt less frustrated.	Margaret accepts that there will usually be a few students who do not live up to her expectations during each activity. Margaret recognized that her experience as both a parent and a teacher had much to do with flexible expectations of her students. Margaret recognized that pacing is necessary for both students and teachers. Rigid expectations can be counter-productive. Margaret feels she has a clearer understanding of what are reasonable expectations of students than years before.

Figure 29. Establishing More Realistic Expectations of Students.

Margaret felt that this type of sharing was being carried to extremes.

> For instance, there is quite a lot of sharing of materials among teachers. I react against this. However, a lot of teachers come to depend on others instead of their own intelligence and carry borrowing to extremes.

More often than not, Margaret states, professional sharing became more a case of taking than sharing. Teachers take from each other, offering nothing in return. Further, she points out, credit was rarely given for a good idea. Upon realizing these things she concluded that it was not right to take an idea without giving credit. As well, she states, when looking to borrow ideas, teachers should plan to give something in exchange. When these two rules were not adhered to, Margaret reports, she felt angry.

> You don't just come in and take an idea. There are rules of courtesy. You should give credit. I've seen some things that I've done first in the school appearing in other rooms. Sometimes I feel if I develop something on my own, why should I give it up? Why should I give it to someone else? I don't know. I simplified our pre-primer reading series and a lot of other teachers asked me for them. I felt compelled to share. But they gave me nothing in return. I invented these. I typed these. If they're going to trade something, that's different. But that doesn't happen. This niggles at me.

The approach Margaret chose to take in dealing with what she calls "one-sided sharing" was to try to control the number of teaching ideas others borrowed from her. One way she feels she did this was by setting an example. She preferred to work on her own. As a rule, she states, she did not borrow from others. By being this way she feels she encouraged other staff members to treat her similarly.

> I don't mind being asked for a favour. But I don't like to impose on others. Therefore, I don't usually ask for favours. Whether at home or school I prefer not relying on others. For my own peace of mind things are more settled if I handle things on my own. So I don't really need to borrow material from other teachers. I've never found a need to go around to classrooms and borrow. I figure things out on my own. So I figure other people should be able to do so, as well.

Another approach Margaret chose to use in trying to control the amount of requests made by peers to share her ideas involved her association with the general staff. Margaret reasoned that close association with all the staff was generally unfruitful. By closely interacting with all staff members she felt she would end up investing more and more of her time in areas not directly related to her own work. She felt it would be better to interact at a close professional level with only her own immediate grade level peers. Her decision to be selective in her close associations on staff, she reports, has proved to her to be a satisfactory situation. She feels that she keeps a relatively low profile on staff. By being this way, she states, she is able to keep clear of unnecessary additional involvements. Her association with her grade level peers has proved to be satisfactory, as well. She points out that these teachers share similar teaching conditions. Their problems are often her problems. Therefore, they can solve problems together. Best of all, she states, her immediate peers do not depend on her for curriculum material that she has written. They each seem to sense that they must respect this area as a territorial right of the other. Because of this association with these teachers, Margaret adds, a strong respectful bond now exists between her and them, so much so that they are not only colleagues but close personal friends.

> Talking about how things should be done as how you would approach a problem, that's fine. But actually taking other people's worksheets, or charts, or whatever is a slightly different matter. I tend to share such discussions with the other grade one teachers. They are friends as well as colleagues. We discuss how to handle various children and what is the best approach to various things.

Margaret experienced other subtle pressures related to her association with other teachers, also. These pressures generally involved her own feelings about how other staff members saw her. The foremost question on her mind regarding this area became: Was she contributing enough as a staff member?

Interestingly, while Margaret felt better about her selective association with peers, she did wonder if other staff members might be judging her harshly for taking this stand. Perhaps they saw her as not involved enough professionally. This feeling of doubt even surfaced as a question regarding her own job security. Because her husband was an executive member of the local school board, Margaret felt that she might be seen by her peers as secure for unfair reasons; all the more reason, she adds, for them to think that she did not have to contribute to staff endeavours as much as they did. Her following comment shows that she feels the odd statement by a peer, whether made in jest or not, may be both serious and true as far as her job security is concerned.

> Sometimes other teachers suggest that the security of my teaching position is because my husband is with the board. But these comments could be serious at times. And, after all, "never a truer word is spoken in jest." So there may be some truth in it. Although I feel competent, at times I feel my credibility as a teacher is somehow connected by others with my husband's position.

Seeing herself in a position where her peers might question her contribution to staff endeavours, Margaret saw that it was all the more important to make efforts to correct any misgivings they might have of her. After all, she adds, she wanted to be part of the staff. She enjoyed her work and under no circumstances did she want to jeopardize the relative harmony in which she felt she existed. She attempted to cope with these possible misgivings by other staff members in four ways.

First, Margaret had observed other experienced teachers who were not active in the area of professional development and who did not get particularly involved in such things as special workshops and seminars. Many of these teachers Margaret admired. She felt they were good teachers. Their low profile regarding professional involvement on staff did not seem to affect their jobs. Therefore, she concluded that she could take such a position, silently associating herself with these experienced teachers, seeing this route as the likely direction that all teachers take eventually anyway.

The second method Margaret used to relieve her anxiety regarding possible misgivings by peers involves the nature of expectations other teachers had of her. Margaret found that, over the years, other staff members did not actually expect much of her in the way of professional interaction. While she was expected to contribute to staff endeavours by serving on committees, she noted that other teachers expected her, first and most importantly, to contribute to general maintenance tasks. Therefore, these responsibilities, she felt, were a high priority.

> Other teachers have expectations of me which are important: pulling my own weight in such things as being on time at meetings, meeting deadlines, taking turns at clean-up, managing art supplies, providing coffee, etcetera.

The third method Margaret used to relieve her anxiety about her efforts as a contributing staff member involved the staff as a group. She learned that staff decisions must always be adhered to. Sometimes these decisions would conflict with her intentions but she would be better off to give in to them. The following comment about special occasions bears out her view about staff decisions.

> Colour Day and other similar schoolwide activities sometimes seem frivolous. It was a complete waste of time. But when such an activity is announced, I participate. I don't think I'd have the nerve to say "No" to this. This is because the staff has decided as a group to participate. And I am sure I would feel further pressure from them if I did not.

However, while Margaret adheres to group decisions, she does not always comply with the wishes of individual teachers. Following is an example of how Margaret faces individual teachers regarding conflict. It involves field trips. Margaret found that some teachers consider a particular field trip their own domain. For instance, a trip to a fort was considered by another teacher to be for her grade level, not Margaret's. However, Margaret saw this trip as being beneficial to her grade one class who were studying "Me as an Individual" and "Me and My Family". The same trip would benefit the students once again, using a different theme, she argues. Using this rationale, she suggests, she is willing to face pressure from another teacher without feeling undue stress.

> I have taken students to the fort. One teacher feels this should be reserved for grade four as the curriculum calls for it then. However, there is a relationship here with grade one, "Me as an Individual" and "Me and My Family". Further, this trip can be taken over and over again, as several themes can be emphasized through such a trip. Therefore, rationalizing in such a manner, I am willing to bypass pressure from the grade four teacher on this.

The fourth method Margaret used to relieve doubts that her peers may have had about contributions she made to staff involved, once again, those teachers who worked at the same grade level. It was these teachers, Margaret claims, whom she looked to if she needed backing. It was these teachers, she adds, who offered her respect and the opportunity to laugh-off unfair insinuations regarding remarks about her job security.

> The other grade one and two teachers are supportive. As well, one of the young teachers thinks I'm pretty swift. She accepts helpful hints from me regarding her teaching. And together we have developed a fairly hearty sense of humour about a variety of things that happen in our day. This is a teacher humour. It's not shared with or by outsiders. We sometimes give people a hard time. It's protective and addresses things that teachers, as a group and as individuals, can't do much about other than accept.

In closing, Margaret feels there is a pervading and forced feeling of collegiality in education. It is one where an uncontained sharing of materials seem to her to be the rule of the day. Margaret dislikes this tendency, preferring to develop all her own material by herself. Therefore, she discourages wholesale borrowing on the part of other teachers where she is concerned. Margaret's main professional contacts are with teachers of her own grade level. Such associations are fruitful because she and these specific teachers can discuss problems which are similar in nature. On the other hand, a lot of interaction with the rest of the staff, she feels, is unfruitful, except regarding group decisions involving special occasions and maintenance duties that all staff members are required to do. So Margaret suggests that she now sees that her image on staff is one of a contributing active member. At the same time she has learned to limit her involvement on staff to be assured that she is not caught-up in unfruitful undertakings which fall out of the realm of her own classroom activities. She reports that she is presently satisfied that she has these conditions under better control than before, freeing her to undertake other role responsibilities related more to the area of domestics. (For a detailed summary see Figure 30, Reaching an Adequate Level of Contribution to the Staff.)

Learning the Value of a Good Teaching Reputation with Parents

Margaret claims that she has had few conflicts with parents over the years. Yet the conflict discussed in this vignette shows that this is an area which she has been quite aware of and concerned about for some time.

The only parent conflict Margaret recollects involved a memo that a reading specialist had sent home without Margaret's knowledge. The memo regarded one of Margaret's students and it suggested to the parents that their child get some remedial assistance. This suggestion was the first the parents had heard of their child needing help and they were angry with Margaret for not keeping them informed. As it turned out, the memo had not been entirely accurate, Margaret reports. Therefore, she claims, the conflict was largely a misunderstanding.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Margaret insists collegiality was forced. She found teachers depending too much on each other for curriculum materials.	Margaret was angry. She felt forced to share.	Margaret saw little sense participating in professional sharing with peers other than those of her own grade level.	Margaret felt less frustrated. However, she still had doubts.	Margaret's notion was confirmed that you do not take an idea without giving credit for it. As well, you should offer something in exchange.
Margaret felt that other teachers might judge her harshly for not wanting to share with them.	Margaret felt a little guilty.	Margaret coped with this new pressure by: 1. observing and acting as some peers whom she admired; 2. being sure that she "pulled her own weight", doing the maintenance tasks required of all teachers on staff; 3. always complying with the wishes of the general staff; and 4. retaining close ties of comradeship with her immediate grade level peers.	Margaret observed that she was not judged harshly by her peers.	Margaret has come to recognize that her peers generally expect her to "pull her own weight" regarding maintenance tasks and adhering to staff decisions regarding special occasions, not professional matters. Margaret recognizes that compliance with these general staff concerns is necessary. Margaret has become more independent from her peers. She feels that sharing curriculum material is not necessary but interacting with her grade level peers is. Margaret feels that she has a relatively good image on staff as a contributing member. At the same time she feels she manages quite well to minimize her staff involvement.

Figure 30. Reaching an Adequate Level of Contribution to the Staff.

> My only real run-in with parents was because of a miscommunication and a subsequent misunderstanding of the real situation. The parents misconstrued the meaning of a memo that someone else had sent home.

This incident reinforced Margaret's view that parents were extremely important as far as her job was concerned. They needed to be kept informed. This point also became reinforced as her own children entered school. Parents are concerned, sometimes anxious, and often defensive about their offspring, she saw. Therefore, the above conflict and her own parenting experience led Margaret to increase her ties with the parents of her students. As she did this she felt she gained the confidence and support of parents.

> This is because I keep parents informed of classroom activities and I welcome them to my classroom. Parents see me as helping their children get a good start. And parents generally support Division I teachers anyway. They see me as a teacher but also as a parent, as well.

But it is not only good communication with parents that has added to her own sense of security as a teacher, Margaret reports. Having had an experience of conflict, like the one described, has made her more mindful of the importance of staying clear of complaints. She suggests that when parents complain they often go to the principal or the area superintendent. Too many complaints that bring in such administrators, she feels, undercut her reputation as a good teacher and her own job security.

Lack of parental conflict, she adds, means that her reputation is more intact. Therefore, Margaret concludes that a reputation must be protected. The best plan to protect her teaching reputation, she has found, is to nurture it. By nurturing a reputation, parent conflict is generally eliminated before it can occur, she claims.

Interestingly, Margaret adds, being a good teacher and being seen as a good teacher are not always the same thing. The important thing, she points out, is that parents perceive her to be a good teacher. Therefore, it is the perception she claims to nurture and maintain.

> If you've had big fights with parents you begin to feel quite secure in your position. So, you see how important one's reputation is? One's reputation needs to be protected. And it hurts to have it tarnished and must be protected. Interestingly, whether correct or incorrect, if this general view is that you are a good teacher, your teaching life is made easier.

In closing, Margaret reports having had few conflicts with parents over the years. The few she has had and the ones she has observed involving her peers and parents has confirmed, in her own mind, the importance of the support and confidence of parents toward her. Without this support and confidence her job is more difficult, not to mention the fact that the security of her position may be in jeopardy. Therefore, Margaret makes regular efforts to try to minimize situations where she would come into conflict with parents. (For a detailed summary see Figure 31, Learning the Value of a Good Teaching Reputation with Parents.)

Establishing Fair Job Expectations with the Principal

The conflict of this vignette has been with Margaret a long time, causing several tensions in her life. It involves herself and her immediate superiors. It should be noted before continuing that quite a lot of detail has been eliminated from this vignette in order to preserve the conditions of privacy which were promised Margaret.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Margaret received a complaint from parents about the way a student problem had been handled.	Margaret was upset. Her competence seemed in question.	Margaret spoke to the parents. But to be sure she didn't have to face similar circumstances, she spent greater time and effort keeping parents informed of classroom activities and their child's progress.	Margaret's anxiety was relieved. She felt more secure.	Margaret's singular experience with angry parents reinforced her view that her own welfare would be jeopardized if such a confrontation reoccurred. Margaret has come to see that a good teaching reputation needs to be nurtured. Margaret feels reputation is not necessarily a reflection of reality. Margaret feels she better understands the concerns of parents now than she did when she began teaching. Margaret's view that a parent lends a great deal to her understanding about children at school is confirmed. She sees that reporting to parents is a vital aspect of the teaching act.

Figure 31. Learning the Value of a Good Teaching Reputation with Parents.

Before Margaret began teaching she was involved in social work. But her social work experience did not turn out well. She felt a tremendous sense of tension with her training officer. The training officer seemed to think that Margaret was unsuitable for the job. Margaret adds that the training officer seemed jealous of her for a number of reasons. Nevertheless, because this was her first job, Margaret remembers, she did not defend herself for fear of further antagonizing her superior.

> When I was just starting out in social work my training officer confronted me with an image of myself which I found to be upsetting. At that time I backed-off.

Later, when she first began teaching, Margaret reports that her principal tried to force her to transfer to another school. Margaret's initial reaction to this move to transfer her was to back-off once again. However, that earlier strategy, she remembers, did not offer her any satisfaction. She could see that she had gained a good reputation as a teacher at that school. To let the principal transfer her, she reasoned, would put this hard-earned reputation in question. She could not have that, she felt. Therefore, she decided to seek the help of her local teacher's association. Subsequently she was provided with legal advice and, as it turned out, she stood up to the principal, refusing to comply with his wishes.

> Later, when confronted by my past principal with a similarly uncomfortable view to that which the training officer presented, I chose to fight rather than retreat, as I had done years before. I had earned a good reputation and I was not about to have it tarnished. I sought outside assistance from the teachers' association.

However, simply accepting the principal's position regarding time on the job was just not acceptable to Margaret any longer. In time she began to resent the intimation that her worth could be measured by the amount of time she put in at school after hours. Further, she reasoned that professionals take pride in the work that they do and it should be assumed by the principal that all teachers, being professionals, work hard and put in a full day whether at school or at home.

> I know my hours on the job at school do not reflect the work that I do. An earlier principal used this as a measure of teacher worth and I've resented this. It is simpleminded. I think it is possible to fool administrators and teachers about work time by taking books home, staying long hours, etcetera. A professional criterion is to think that everyone is doing the amount of work that they need to do. I think most teachers put in a full day. Further, this does not nor should it require a great deal of additional after-school hours planning for those who are experienced.

Besides being a poor measure of teacher competence, the above time expectations of the principal meant that neither of Margaret's two major roles could be done effectively, she states. Taking time away from home responsibilities meant she had to extend those hours as well. The inevitable result, she reasoned, would mean a deterioration of both and likely criticism from others because nothing was being done well.

> You just cannot keep doing and doing and doing. If you're pulled in so many directions you don't do any job well. You might, in fact, be criticized for doing things poorly which is probably worse than being criticized for not doing them at all.

Therefore, Margaret learned that opposing the time expectations expressed by that principal was the way to go. But she wondered how to do it. She found she was legally held to putting in six and three quarter hours per week at school above and beyond her regular class hours. Seeing no advantage in a legal approach, then, she looked to other teachers who seemed to successfully handle this problem. Margaret observed some other teachers saying "No" to the principal regarding matters of time. She felt particularly encouraged to follow their example as these teachers did not seem to lose the respect of the principal or their peers. Nor did they seem to experience any sense of guilt about holding to their own views about time input. Further, they did not seem to sense any lack of job security, she adds.

> You see other people around you saying "No" to the principal and yet they seem respected in just the same way, and aren't the ones to lose their jobs. And I've seen other teachers over the years leave early in the day without loss of professional respect. So I guess it's just the realization that you're being pulled in too many directions at once and seeing that other people are able to do it and aren't condemned.

But simply saying "No" to the principal regarding adhering to unfair time expectations was not enough on its own merit, Margaret reasoned. Therefore, she devised five rules upon which to base her arguments. The first rule involved Margaret conditioning her principal. She made it regularly known to him that she was an exceedingly busy person. This point being true, she feels, offered her an on-going excuse from many time impositions.

> I simply explain that I have too many other things to do. I don't feel guilty about this because I do have too many things to do.

Second, Margaret made it known that she needed several days notice from her principal regarding special meetings because she always had some activity underway. When given short notice, then, she made it known that she had no obligation to attend. The following comment about an impromptu budget committee meeting being called at the same time as a previously planned interview session bears this out.

> When given short notice I do not feel it necessary to attend meetings, etcetera. I give my reason for not attending and am careful to point out that I am following a rule of etiquette. For example, I did not attend a budget committee meeting which was called on short notice. Instead I told the principal I was going to attend this interview which had been arranged a long time ago and had already been postponed once. I did not feel guilty. Rather, I felt annoyed because he was annoyed.

Third, for events that occur simultaneously on a regular basis, Margaret learned to rotate them according to their urgency. She based this on a system of priorities.

> I tend to see scheduled events in terms of priorities. Those events which are a first priority like parent-teacher meetings I attend. The second and third priority items I reschedule for a later time. However, if I miss enough of the second priority events, like girl guides session in the evening, they become a first priority and I feel pressed to attend them at the next opportunity. Some events simply do not become first priority and fade away.

A fourth rule Margaret devised to protect her own interests involved who owed whom. For instance, if she was asked to meet with the principal or do something for him as a favour, she could postpone or cancel the event if necessary. On the other hand, if she had asked the favour herself, she states, she would be held to participate. The following statement, she feels, holds true not only for principals but for all people she deals with.

> If I were asking a favour of someone else I wouldn't dream of cancelling or postponing the event. When I am doing someone else a favour I feel they should try to accommodate me rather than the other way around. I feel I can cancel or postpone events with someone who is asking a favour.

Fifth, while taking pride in her forthrightness to deal with her principal regarding unfair time expectations, Margaret concedes that she has come to see that a compromise is necessary. The importance of maintaining satisfactory work conditions, she states, is dependent on both herself and her principal endeavouring to maintain harmony between them. Therefore, she has learned to not rigidly oppose all time requests by the principal. Rather, she opposes only those which she considers to be unreasonable and which she can count on by using one of the rules she has established for that purpose.

Margaret feels she has come a long way since the days when she was afraid to say "No" about unfair time expectations by the principal. Her fear was in being judged harshly by the principal and by her peers. Today she claims she ignores such would-be pressures because they are not all real as she had once thought them to be.

> There were times when I said "No" or left the school at three-thirty p.m. and felt the principal or other teachers thought I should stay and work. In my first teaching years I would stay at school if and when I sensed this, rather than be open to that sort of criticism. And it used to bother me that the principal and some other teachers would be judging me if I said "No" to staying and taking on additional work. Now I ignore this would-be pressure. Besides, more often than not others are not judging me anyway.

Margaret seems to have unfair time impositions in hand. However, she has encountered another problem involving the principal. Recently she has become a little uneasy about the security of her own teaching position. She explains that the local board has started proclaiming certain teachers "surplus" in response to a decrease in student enrollment. She states that such a turn of events has started a lot of teachers wondering if they will have a job the next year. For that reason Margaret was eager to find out the strength of her own position. Seeing the principal as a key to her security she looked to him for reassurance. She reports that his comments about her teaching were encouraging. Therefore, her job looked relatively secure, she reasoned. Yet, there remained a seed of doubt in her mind. That doubt regarded the sincerity of her superior.

> Because jobs are hard to find these days some teaching positions are being declared surplus. We are often left wondering who's to go. But the principal considers me a good teacher. He wrote me a glowing report on my teaching abilities and asked me to take the split grade one-two class because of my "expertise". I believe he is sincere.

The point of sincerity itself began Margaret questioning once again her security. Had the principal given his honest forthright view? She cites a time when the principal passed out a questionnaire to all teachers on staff asking for their critical views on him as an administrator. But, she remembers, she and the other teachers were hesitant to express their true opinions, feeling that he would not respond to them well. The solution, they had reasoned, was to hold back.

> Several teachers did say, "Wow, if we really say what we think we'll be out of a job next year." And I feel that if we were really honest about what we think he might come and say to us, "Well if you don't agree with what I'm doing perhaps you should take a transfer." So while the principal seems sincere about wanting feedback, teachers still have a measure of distrust. They're not sure of him.

Another example supporting Margaret's hesitation to trust in the sincerity of her principal involved his recent disclosure about how he would move a teacher out of school if he had to. The following conversation was one which candidly took place between Margaret and the principal only.

> He did say that when it came to declaring a teacher surplus he could work it through the school until he got rid of the "weak link". And I asked him, "What if the teacher fought back?". He replied, "If I wanted to get rid of somebody, I'd play dirty." This is a bit unnerving isn't it? Because you might think you'll play dirty back. But I think he would have the upper hand. He's very clever. And you never know if something you might say he could store up in his mind for use at a later date.

Unnerved as she was, Margaret prompted the principal for something a little more definite regarding his opinion of her teaching. Once again, while his reply was positive she remained unclear.

> When I asked him about his satisfaction with my teaching he said, "You are hard to beat, Margaret". But I'm still not sure if he was sincere or sarcastic here. And I'm not sure I can trust him.

Margaret sees her principal as a "bit of a railroader" and "benevolent dictator". He is not entirely trustworthy, she reports. Yet, he is an important figure in her life. Stated not as positively, he can be a major disruptive force to her as a teacher, she feels. For that reason she recognizes that she should attempt to make life between them relatively harmonious. Yet, by the same token, also being aware of legal limits to his authority, she knows she can oppose him successfully when absolutely necessary.

> If a teacher does a poor job the principal can make life miserable for her. Under such circumstances she would want to leave. I am aware that the principal has no power to fire teachers. He can play a major role in a teacher being transferred. However, he is not the last word in this either. I ran into a situation like that once and fought it successfully and I can do it again.

In closing, Margaret reports that she has never lived in complete harmony with her immediate superiors. A struggle seems to have existed between them regarding their view and her own view of her job. She reports having faced a number of conflicts where she has attempted to counter unrealistic expectations of her by these superiors especially regarding time. The following statement expresses her opinion as to the root of her strength to make such counter efforts work. She feels that she is no longer as concerned about criticism as she was earlier in her career. The reasons she gives, in the following statement.

> Have I become insensitive to the thought of being judged by others? No. I've become selective, by being secure enough in your life not to worry about people judging you at every turn. Age may contribute to this. In the final analysis I feel secure in my job; I am a good teacher; I am aware of how the system works; and I know that I'm pulling my own weight.

The situation at the present regarding Margaret and her principal seems to have just as much possibility for disharmony as in the past. However, she reports, now she is able to better represent her own needs to her principal than she was in the past. From what she has reported, it would appear that Margaret continues to actively use the strategies she has outlined in this vignette. These strategies, she claims, have helped to lessen certain personal conflicts which she feels pressured by. (For a detailed summary see Figure 32, Establishing Fair Job Expectations with The Principal.)

Minimizing Interference by Specialists

The conflict described in this vignette was initially of little concern to Margaret. It grew, she suggests, as a result of her own increased expertise as well as an increase in specialist activity.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Margaret was faced by a training officer who was antagonistic toward her.	Margaret was unhappy with her superior's attitude.	Margaret chose to not aggravate her superior, tending to be compliant. Eventually, she quit social work.	Both solutions helped to correct the situation.	Margaret saw that when there is no harmony between employees and superior the work situation is very poor.
When she began teaching Margaret found that her first principal made unreasonable time demands of her.	Margaret was frustrated and fatigued by this expectation. She was initially compliant. She also felt a little guilty when she could not adhere to these expectations.	Eventually she reasoned that adhering to such expectations was unreasonable. There were times she just had to say "No" to the principal. Legally she saw no answer. However, she observed other teachers who seemed successful in saying "No" with no loss of respect or job security. Thus, she established five rules involving time priorities to assist her. They involved: 1. her being too busy to take on additional responsibilities; 2. she could not accept new responsibilities on short notice; 3. she rotated responsibilities so they would be attended to eventually; 4. she rarely gave favours, thus asked for few; and 5. her becoming flexible enough to adhere sometimes to the expectations of others in order "to keep the peace".	Margaret's frustration and fatigue subsided. She felt no sense of guilt as she had previously. The pressure of others judging her seemed to disappear.	Margaret recognized the importance of trying to keep a sense of harmony with the principal at the same time as holding her own position regarding time impositions. Such compromises she feels will continue to be necessary.

1- continued

Figure 32. Establishing Fair Job Expectations with the Principal.

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Recently Margaret struggled with aspects of her association with her principal. Teachers were being "declared surplus". Further, for various reasons Margaret questioned the principal's sincerity towards her.	Such doubt put Margaret's job security in question.	Living under such conditions of uncertainty were difficult. To help relieve the tension, she took inventory of her own position of strength. They were: 1. she does not worry about criticism so much anymore; 2. she has Mad considerable experience in life; 3. she knows she is a good teacher; 4. she feels she contributes her fair share as a teacher; and 5. she is aware of the legal and practical ways the school system works.	Margaret felt reasonably confident about her own position of strength, thus increasing her sense of security.	Margaret is not as sensitive about being judged by her principal as she was in earlier years. Margaret has learned about the power that principals have over teachers and the limits of this power. Some friction seems to presently exist between Margaret and her principal. She continues to feel better speaking directly to the principal about matters of security.

Figure 32 -- continued.

in recent years.

Margaret reports that her school system has become extremely active in promoting curriculum and methodological change. She claims that she received a lot of written curriculum guides and supportive materials due to this trend. But such an influx of materials, she points out, was never a problem. Rather than being an overload, she suggests, the ideas she found in these materials were very helpful. The reason she felt such little sense of overload, she explains, is because the nature of the grade one-two program is not rigid. Thus she has felt free to pick and choose from these materials. Therefore, rather than being frustrated with new curricular ideas interrupting her routine, she is elated. Often the ideas expressed in such material, she adds, have acted as both a change of pace as well as focal points which enhanced discussion and written work for her class.

> Having too much written curriculum material never has, nor do I anticipate ever will, bother me. These are welcome additions to my own curriculum which I have created on my own. Such occasions enhance discussion sessions, creative writing, etcetera. Besides, I do not feel pressed to participate in all of these.

Therefore, Margaret claims she has always adhered to the curriculum guides she received. She states that it has been her practise to peruse new material, recognizing that it was up to her to see to the implementation phase. The act of interpretation, she claims, has always been her right. But during this time of curriculum influx, she reports, a large number of subject area specialists were sent out to assist teachers with interpretation of these documents. Their main approach, she continues, was to hold workshops for teachers. Margaret reports that she initially attended some of these workshops but found that they were not useful. She felt that her own interpretation of the new documents was more realistic than what the specialists presented. After all, she adds, she knew her own students better than the specialists did. Besides, she continues, this whole area of curriculum interpretation was her forte. She did not need help of this kind. Therefore, seeing these sessions as a waste of time, she decided that she would not attend them anymore.

> I decided a long time ago that I wouldn't attend any more in-service sessions. Generally I feel I can do something more productive on my own.

Margaret recalls that she was able to make the decision to refrain from involvement in such professional development activities largely because of system regulations that protected her from having to go. First of all, she states, in-service workshops were held after school and, she adds, teachers were rarely legally held to go to such after school activities.

> In-services are not particularly worthwhile. They come after school as a rule. And I am not keen working right after school. As in-services are not mandatory I feel free to do other things.

Margaret reports that she also heard stories from another teacher who had some bad experiences when a consultant came into her classroom. Apparently, the consultant had been extremely critical. In the end the classroom teacher was left demoralized and somewhat embittered. Margaret states that she was not about to let herself in for such an experience. Therefore, despite administrative support for consultant involvement in the classroom, Margaret moved in quite the opposite direction.

> I have never found consultants to be particularly helpful. I've heard that some of them are more critical than helpful. I know because I had a girlfriend who was utterly destroyed by a consultant. So I've decided to stay clear of consultants.

In order to keep specialists out of her classroom, Margaret made use of a recent system regulation. This regulation, she points out, refused entry to any classroom to specialists or other personnel from outside the school until invited by the classroom teacher, principal, or area superintendent.

> We are protected from outsiders such as consultants coming in without invitation by our new simplified line of authority. It doesn't allow outsiders into the classroom without a request by the teacher, principal, or the area superintendent.

Finally, Margaret recognized that there was danger of her being seen as complacent because of her lack of participation at in-services and interaction with consultants. Yet the very act of reminding herself of this danger, she reasoned, was an indication that she was open to change. Besides, she points out, the nature of the grade one curriculum has always been in continuous change "each day brings something new". Therefore, Margaret felt that she was not complacent. However, there were times she wondered how her principal and peers viewed her non-involvement with specialists. Earlier, she remembers, she was very sensitive about this area. However, again observing some of her peers successfully handling this problem, she found that would-be judgements made by others of her were usually unreal. Therefore, the sense of anxiety she had at one time felt, she explains, has largely diminished.

> It used to bother me if I did not work with specialists. And I felt there was a type of pressure on me to attend in-service workshops. I don't know if this pressure from the principal or other teachers was real or if it was just my feeling of guilt, but it is not felt as strongly as when I first started teaching. Now I don't worry so much about what others think.

(For a detailed summary see Figure 33, Minimizing Interference by Specialists.)

Becoming More Closely Associated with Board and Department Officials

The conflict in this vignette, Margaret feels, is minor compared to the ones reported earlier. However, it was real and is therefore worth reporting. Further, it has altered drastically over the years, making it somewhat of a curiosity.

As a teacher, Margaret's association with others outside of the immediate school community was limited. Being this way, she explains, was her own choice. As mentioned earlier, she did not see consultants as useful interactors. Also, Margaret explains, while area superintendents had the right to intervene in her school activities, she rarely saw or heard from them. Therefore, officials beyond the school itself seemed to Margaret to be distant and uninvolved with her work. Perhaps, she adds, it was this distance that prompted her to consider these officials as unimportant. She even viewed them as rather useless. She reports one time calling them "useless coffee drinkers". Margaret was unable to cite any specific circumstances that would make her feel adversely towards such officials. Nevertheless, she adds, her feeling towards them was negative.

Over time this perspective altered drastically, however. Her husband eventually became an executive member of the same school

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Margaret found in-service workshops a waste of her time. She also learned from other teachers that consultants in the classroom were often destructive.	She felt specialists were imposing on her work and time.	Margaret decided not to attend workshops anymore. She was able to do this because she was not legally required to attend. Margaret decided not to have specialists in her classroom because she heard "horror stories". She was aware that specialists could not come into her classroom without being invited by the teacher, principal, or area superintendent.	This decision relieved some anxiety.	Margaret recognized that workshops and consultant visits were largely for curriculum interpretation. Margaret confirmed her view that she was a good curriculum interpreter.
However, Margaret did feel a sense of guilt at not being involved in the professional development activities presented by the specialists.	She wondered if she should be more compliant to impress her principal and peers.	By observing some of her peers successfully remaining aloof from professional development activities, she concluded that pressures by others were unreal. Therefore, the need to feel guilty was unnecessary.	Margaret's sense of guilt was relieved.	Margaret's notion that professional development is not for all teachers was confirmed by her observing others like herself.

Figure 33. Minimizing Interference by Specialists.

board that Margaret worked for. With this turn of events Margaret became much more involved in what such officials did and learned to appreciate the complexities of their positions. Eventually she found her position to be realigned with the "other camp".

> I used to feel a "they versus us" conflict between the head office and our school staff. I no longer do as my husband is with head office.

Along with this turn of events, Margaret reports, she felt a new-found prestige in being so closely associated with such high level officials. As well, she admits, she also felt a greater sense of security in her own teaching position. This security, she reports, was partly due to her husband's position. But it also came from her greater familiarity with the formal workings of the system itself, she states. Becoming more aware of policy and procedure, she argues, has added greatly to her sense of confidence as a teacher.

> I feel I understand the structure of our public school board organization and its line of authority. This is, in part, due to my new knowledge and partly due to my husband. I am better able to deal with my job because of these things.

In closing, Margaret reports that she feels no tension toward board or department officials at all. Rather, the tension she used to feel has altered from feelings of antagonism to the opposite feelings of trust and comradery. (For a detailed summary see Figure 34, Becoming More Closely Associated with Board and Department Officials.)

PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS	INITIAL REACTION	CHOSEN MANAGEMENT RESPONSES	EVALUATION OF RESULTS	ALTERATION TO PERSPECTIVE REGARDING ROLE EXPECTATIONS
Margaret felt distant from officials outside of her school. She felt they were "useless coffee drinkers".	Margaret felt disdainful toward these officials. She also felt an "us versus them" antagonism towards them.	Margaret's husband became an executive member of the same school board that Margaret worked for.	Margaret's antagonism decreased as she became more aware of the situations such officials dealt with.	Margaret became more knowledgeable about and appreciative of macro-level politics and administration in education. She became friendly with the onetime distant figureheads. Margaret's sense of prestige and security grew.

Figure 34. Becoming More Closely Associated with Board and Department Officials .

DISCUSSION

Critical Conflicts Perceived by Margaret

Of the role conflicts which presently remain important to Margaret, she claims to feel relatively free of difficulties involving students. As she explained, she has worked and continues to work very hard to see that that area of her life is under control. However, there is still evidence of conflicts continuing presently. These conflicts are interrelated and are discussed next.

The first conflict regards Margaret's juggling of teacher and domestic roles. This conflict was originally a pressure caused entirely by her teaching role. However, this situation has shifted so that presently it is her domestic role which causes her difficulty. Margaret has pointed out that she has an extremely full timetable and that being so busy has been of her own choice. Because such pressures are self-chosen, she claims they are generally acceptable to her. However, her time schedule remains today as the cause of her most pressing conflict. While she has relieved herself of late-evening planning for school, it seems there is a never-ending list of things to do at home. Further, she seems pressed by social commitments. Her own children are quick to remind her that her attendance is requested at one or another of their functions. As well, there is some intimation that Margaret's husband is fairly demanding, asking her to support his role, while not taking major responsibility for the upbringing of their children. Such pressures from her family members or others who come into contact with the family, Margaret states, are inescapable and show little sign of being relieved.

The second conflict which remains for Margaret to deal with involves an aspect of professional development. Margaret has always felt "niggled" by a pervading sense in education that she has to share her ideas with her peers. By the same token, she adds, there are subtle pressures to look for opportunities to interact with other teachers and consultants with professional development being the objective. She continues to feel this tendency is too contrived and that experienced teachers like herself do not necessarily need such activities. Therefore, she argues, they should not be pressured into participation. Further, she states, if experienced teachers choose not to participate, it is unfair for others to judge them harshly.

A third conflict is closely related to the last one. Margaret claims she is presently not nearly as sensitive about what others think of her as a teacher compared with earlier in her career. However, she has indicated that she continues to be concerned about this area. For instance, she has had reason to wonder if her immediate peers feel she is contributing her fair share at the school. As well, she has shown more than a little concern about how her principal views her as a teacher, so much so that her job security may not be entirely stable. While feeling conditions between herself and board officials have improved, she is not entirely sure of her present status with her own principal and continues to feel somewhat threatened in this area.

Margaret reports that the number of conflicts and the intensity of these conflicts has diminished over the years. However, she also reports that she is not free of role-related conflicts and that she does have her struggles periodically. Yet she claims that these struggles are far from unbearable; many of them she has chosen herself. Further, she states, she has certain strategies to face these conflicts. These strategies will be discussed next.

Conflict Management Strategies Used by Margaret

Analysis of the interview data indicates that Margaret primarily uses five management strategies to meet conflicts. The first of these strategies is "accepting". Margaret feels that she is more tolerant of others and the problems that crop up each day. Generally, she states, she is less worried about situations of conflict and accepts them as part of her regular life. Further, she no longer expects to solve all problems, some will be left for another day and someone else to deal with.

> I think I'm more tolerant of life in general than I was fifteen years ago. So it would come into everything. It just follows through to the teaching. Golly, you could have a heart attack or a nervous breakdown or something. I mean some people are very hard on themselves. I think you can tell. They are really up-tight and worried, not very relaxed. Because there you can't change the world, that sort of thing. I think there are a lot of things that you just have to accept. Okay, that didn't work out. Let's see why, and on to the next thing. I used to get very frustrated about things. I used to worry why I couldn't change it. Not now though.

An example of this type of acceptance was cited in Margaret's personal life. She presently feels pressure to juggle a number of social and domestic commitments. Unfortunately, she concluded, they could not all be handled as she had hoped. Therefore, she rationalizes that simply doing her best will have to do, despite the fact that some items are not handled entirely to her satisfaction. Another example of accepting was cited in the teaching role itself. Margaret pointed out that she cannot solve all problems presented by her students. Once again, feeling confident that she does her best, she could then refer the child on to someone else to deal with. While wanting to serve children she states that she does not want to "take their difficulties home" with her.

The second strategy that Margaret uses commonly is "associating". For a variety of reasons, stated earlier, Margaret is very selective about those with whom she associates. She feels she is a fairly independent teacher, wanting to do her own work and expecting the same from her peers. By the same token, she explains, her immediate grade level peers were important interactors. By associating with these teachers, she feels that her job is made easier. This arrangement, she adds, is mutually beneficial. She offers her own expertise and moral support to the other two teachers. In return, they offer her the same, she reports.

The third strategy that Margaret seems to be able to use is "opposing". Margaret claims that she has become much more forceful about her own rights as a teacher over the years. While not first looking to oppose others, she states that there are times where she simply must say "No" to others who make unreasonable requests of her. Examples were cited in the vignettes involving specialists and her principals, in particular. Margaret's following statement indicates that she feels she will oppose others if and when the situation is necessary.

> I think I'm certainly more forceful than years before. I mean, in the past if someone asked me to do something I didn't really want to do, I just said "Yes" because I didn't have the nerve to say "No".

The fourth strategy is "negotiating". It acts as a qualifier for the previous strategy. Margaret states that she has come to see the value in "keeping peace" between herself and other interactors. She claims to do so whenever possible, citing examples from interactions with parents, other teachers, her principals, and others. For the most part, she reports, her efforts to find an acceptable compromise between herself and others is a top priority to her. Only when she finds a situation falls into an unreasonable category will she revert to opposing, she explains.

The fifth strategy is "anticipating". Margaret has established an elaborate set of rules which guide her regarding what are reasonable expectations of her as a teacher. These rules are based on her practical and legal knowledge of the educational system in which she works. They help her establish a pattern upon which to base her daily plans. They involve time management of domestic duties and organizing tasks for her students. They also involve aspects of territoriality with her peers, attendance at meetings, as well as legal and non-legal commitments to peers, specialists, principals, and others. The use of such rules, Margaret claims, has helped her establish her own pattern of what are reasonable expectations, shaping situations in which she is involved to her own advantage. This is done, she states, by making her rules well known to others, observing that others have no arguments with the rules, holding regularly to those rules, and recognizing the conditions in which she is involved, in order to anticipate possible future events.

In closing, Margaret uses a number of strategies in attempts to eliminate conditions of conflict. While she, at one time, claims to have been extremely compliant in the face of unreasonable expectations, she now feels she is better able to recognize what are reasonable expectations and to rather forcefully hold to her own views of what is right when necessary. However, while she does feel satisfied with her capacity to be forceful, she states that she prefers accepting, negotiating, and anticipating strategies. These strategies, she points out, allow her to stay clear of confrontation, an activity that she feels can lead her into an unhappy situation and, therefore, one which should be avoided wherever and whenever possible.

As far as present conflicts are concerned Margaret makes no false claims. She recognizes that she continues to experience various conflicts, some which are not totally under her control. For instance, she continues to struggle with various domestic expectations, making her feel like a "perpetual juggler". Nevertheless, she claims, the teacher-related conflicts that she presently experiences are reasonably well in hand. Thus Margaret further claims that she maintains a satisfactory balance between what others expect of her as a teacher and what she feels are reasonable expectations of her teacher role herself.

Future Orientation towards Role Expectations

Analysis of the data suggests that Margaret's outlook toward future role expectations has changed in three major areas. These areas are discussed under the headings: A position of confidence; A clarification of rewards; and A clarification of responsibilities.

A position of confidence

Margaret emerges from her experiences of role conflict, like the ones described in the vignettes, confident that she can continue to deal with role conflicts in the future. This confidence seems to derive from three sources. The first of these sources of confidence is a point which Margaret does not like to dwell on. Nevertheless, she admits, it is real. She feels that her position at her present school is secure because of her husband's position. She has stated that she feels such influence is unfair. As well, she gratefully acknowledges this implicit security because some of her peers are presently being transferred or released.

The second source of Margaret's confidence relates to her legal knowledge about education. Margaret has gained considerable knowledge about the legal expectations of teachers, especially regarding time. She has also come to understand the line of authority in education, knowing much about the limits of power for her principal, specialists, and so on. She believes this knowledge stands her in a position of power when she deals with others who have unreasonable expectations of her.

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The third area of confidence is Margaret's practical knowledge about teaching. Several aspects of teaching are involved here. Margaret views herself as a capable and rather independent curriculum interpreter. She also feels she has become knowledgeable regarding the interests and capabilities of her students. She views herself as a skilled teacher in the area of group management and class control. Such knowledge, she reflects, has come to her through trial-and-error and remains as a basis for her to solve classroom problems in the future as well as an additional point of job security.

> I am more knowledgeable and skilled in teaching now than ten to fifteen years ago. And all that I've learned about discipline, control, and classroom routines I think I've taught myself through trial-and-error. I'm sure I am more confident to both deal with the problems and teach well. And, therefore, if you are confident about these things, then you wouldn't be worried about your job situation.

Margaret has received positive feedback about her teaching over the years from students, parents, and other teachers. This past approval is considered every bit as good as recent approval, Margaret claims, although, she adds, such approval is not as necessary as it was years before.

Margaret also feels that her own experience as a parent has provided her with new insights about students and their parents, adding to her practical knowledge about her job.

Finally, Margaret has established a complex set of rules which guide her priorities as to which commitment she is able to attend to at the present time. She uses these rules with her principal, peers, and others. Knowing that the rules are effective, having observed other teachers use them with "no loss of respect", has acted as the encouragement that Margaret has needed to take a fairly strong position regarding establishing parameters of her job.

A clarifiction of rewards

Margaret appreciates the opportunity to work with young people in elementary school. They are happy, healthy, and enthusiastic.

They are also understanding and unthreatening, she adds. Further, with these young people Margaret is able to directly see the fruits of her labour. She is there to "watch the penny drop" as a child realizes he/she can do the work expected. Generally, she feels a sense of pleasure, knowing that the students are learning and enjoying the activities they are involved in. This pleasure, Margaret adds, was not originally so deeply felt. It has grown over time.

Teaching also offers Margaret the best of two worlds. Through teaching she is able to free herself from the "drudgery of housework". Her paycheque contributes to family expenses such as the mortgage and governess fees. Knowing that she has contributed to the family so significantly allows Margaret, in good conscience, to enjoy her work day at school. At the same time, she recognizes that the time expectations of teaching are unique compared with other professions, freeing her to spend evening, weekends, and summer holidays with her family. Thus Margaret feels she presently enjoys the better part of two roles.

Margaret does not draw heavily on adult interactors for a great deal of approval. She has found them to be more critical than children and not particularly regular with compliments. Knowing that she is doing a good job, she states, is enough.

> Well, I think the rewards in teaching are often not spoken very clearly. I mean for example, very few parents will come rushing up to you telling what a wonderful job you are doing. But if they thought you were doing a bad job they wouldn't hesitate to write a letter to the principal or the superintendent. So I don't think I am very dependent on other adults for support any more. I think if I know that I'm doing a good job, that's enough. I don't have to have all the people running and telling me what a great

> job I'm doing. Some people always look for someone to tell them that that's the right thing to do or they are doing very well. I don't think I need that.

While not looking for compliments and other direct forms of approval, Margaret does look to some of her peers for aspects of her teaching rewards. For instance, her immediate grade level peers are more than business associates. They are among her closest friends, she states. Further, she looks to the over-all school staff for assurance that she is an equal and contributing member to the group. For the most part, Margaret feels that the staff views her in this way.

Margaret explains that she is proud to be a teacher. She is a member of a worthwhile profession. But, of course, she is not a teacher alone. She is a mother, wife, and community member. Further, as her husband is involved in political and administrative work with a school board, Margaret's sense of pride and prestige extends to include that. These things together exist as a major on-going source of reward to Margaret.

Overall, Margaret feels her view of possible rewards through teaching have both altered and become clearer. Over time she claims that her motives to escape housework, for example, remain important, but they have given way to more pedagogical motives. In recognizing these pedagogical rewards along with the other rewards, stated above, Margaret suggests that she is better able to enjoy her teaching position in general. Presently Margaret feels satisfied with these rewards and plans to continue pursuing them as a classroom teacher for some time to come.

A clarification of responsibilities

Another outcome of Margaret's having experienced role conflict is a clarification of what she might realistically put into her teaching. Following is a brief description of such responsibilities.

Margaret's most important role responsibilities involve her family and her teaching. Together, these responsibilities, according to her, require almost full time attention. They run back to back, with teaching done through the day, followed by time with the family and planning for the next day's events. Juggling these two responsibilities, Margaret points out, involves some tension in her life, with domestics being the cause of the greatest difficulty. Nevertheless, while domestics cause her to struggle at times, she states that she feels an equal responsibility for her teaching as well as her home situation.

Margaret feels that while she is at school she should spend a maximum amount of time with her students. She has come to see that, regardless of outward appearances, there are always some students who can use individual help. At the same time, there are others who need to work independently. Thus, by spending time with individuals and small groups she facilitates both needs. Margaret tries to be continuously aware of what her students can and cannot do. Therefore, she feels her role as a diagnostician has increased. While she does not take part in professional development activities, Margaret does rely heavily on specialists. Students who experience difficulty regarding academics and, in some cases, behavior she will refer for additional help.

Margaret sees her role as a teacher requiring her to be a curriculum interpreter. She is compliant regarding new curriculum materials, actually welcoming them as a basis of new ideas. These ideas are blended with her existing core of plans and material. Margaret also looks to current situations commonly experienced among her students to help make her curriculum offerings more meaningful. As she plans her daily lessons she states that she tries not only to be assured that her students will progress toward the next grade level but that they will hopefully enjoy their daily experience in her class.

Margaret feels she needs to "pull her own weight" as far as the rest of the staff is concerned. The primary role responsibilities Margaret feels she must adhere to, regarding the general staff, involve such things as complying with group decisions, taking her turn serving on committees, supervising on the playground, and making coffee periodically. While the main staff requires little of her, she feels, her immediate grade level peers require greater attention. This greater attention is because, she explains, she and these teachers prefer to standardize a lot of activities within their grade levels. Therefore, standardizing certain activities calls for relatively close interaction with these people.

With experience as both a teacher and a parent Margaret feels she has become more sensitive to the needs and concerns of the parents of her students. She tries to keep them informed as much as possible about her plans, feeling that parents are often unclear as to what goes on in a school nowadays. This sense of responsibility serves her as well. By reassuring parents of her plans they are less likely to complain, she explains. Thus, she feels, a distant comradery is fostered, one where she is able to work with a relative degree of autonomy while maintaining parental support.

Finally, Margaret views all administrative personnel as representing various levels of a line of authority. Because she views administrators this way she tends to respond to their expectations from a legalistic point of view. She sees that she is hired to perform fairly explicitly stated duties and, as far as administrators are concerned, these are the things she attends to first. However, she does concede that, in order for a relative sense of harmony to exist, rigid adherence to legal rules is not always appropriate. Rather, it is necessary to be flexible, staying clear of tensions with administrators whenever possible.

Margaret feels her sense of responsibility has become clearer and more realistic over the years. She works hard to be sure that both her teaching and domestic responsibilities are represented fairly. Attempting to do so has meant increasing her efficiency with her students during the school day, seeing her work with them as requiring her full attention. It has also meant becoming selective about her interactions with other adults. In limiting her adult interactions she feels that she is able to minimize her commitments without endangering her overall association with them. Being this way allows her to attend to her two main role responsibilities to her satisfaction.

In closing, Margaret has become an independent, even solitary teacher. She feels she is largely the engineer of her own destiny, seeing her skills as a planner for and manager of young people as being finely honed. She sees herself as a juggler, manipulating a number of responsibilities, continuously and at the same time. Her attendance to these various responsibilities is done satisfactorily as far as she is concerned and as far as she can see others being concerned. She attempts to minimize conflict between herself and other role interactors and feels she does so fairly successfully. While Margaret is not free of role-related conflicts, she does feel she is presently in a situation where the conflicts she does experience do not detract from the order and enjoyment that she derives from her job and her life in general. Such conditions, Margaret expects, will continue for some time to come.

SECTION 3

FINAL ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

This section is composed of two chapters. The first, Chapter IX, is a comparative analysis of the data presented in Section 2. The analysis results found in Chapter IX are no longer the result of a collaborative effort with the subjects. The reason for ending collaboration of this sort, of course, was to remain faithful to the promise of not discussing details involving the subjects with each other. Further, their commitment had been to construct a picture of their own perspectives. That had largely been done. However, peer consultations continued, as they had during previous analyses. So, from that point of view, the notion of collaboration continued on and continued to influence some of the interpretations of the data found in this chapter.

The second part of Section 3 is Chapter X. This chapter provides a summary of four things: the problem, significance of the study, the investigative procedures, and an overview of the findings. A short discussion of the relationship to earlier research is offered. As well, implications and recommendations regarding the findings and the method of research are presented.

CHAPTER IX

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The aim of this chapter is to compare the data reported in the four case studies. An attempt is made to come to grips with the major purpose and three sub-purposes of the thesis stated on page four. The format of this chapter will conform to a number of topics which were presented on pages 111-112 as an adaptation to the purposes of the study which were expressed earlier on page four. Organizing the format in such a manner adheres more closely to the way the data have emerged. At the same time it remains faithful to the overall purposes of the study.

Thus the chapter is organized into three sections. The first section discusses the conflict management cycle as introduced in Chapter III. The second section discusses concrete details subsumed by the cycle such as: How teachers perceive conflicting expectations over time; how teachers perceive their management of conflicting expectations of their roles over time; and the effect that having been involved in role expectation management over a number of years has had on teachers. The third section moves from the concrete details of the previous section toward a more abstract analysis of the weighing mechanism teachers use to balance their perception of role expectations others have of them with the role expectations they have of themselves.

The Conflict Management Cycle

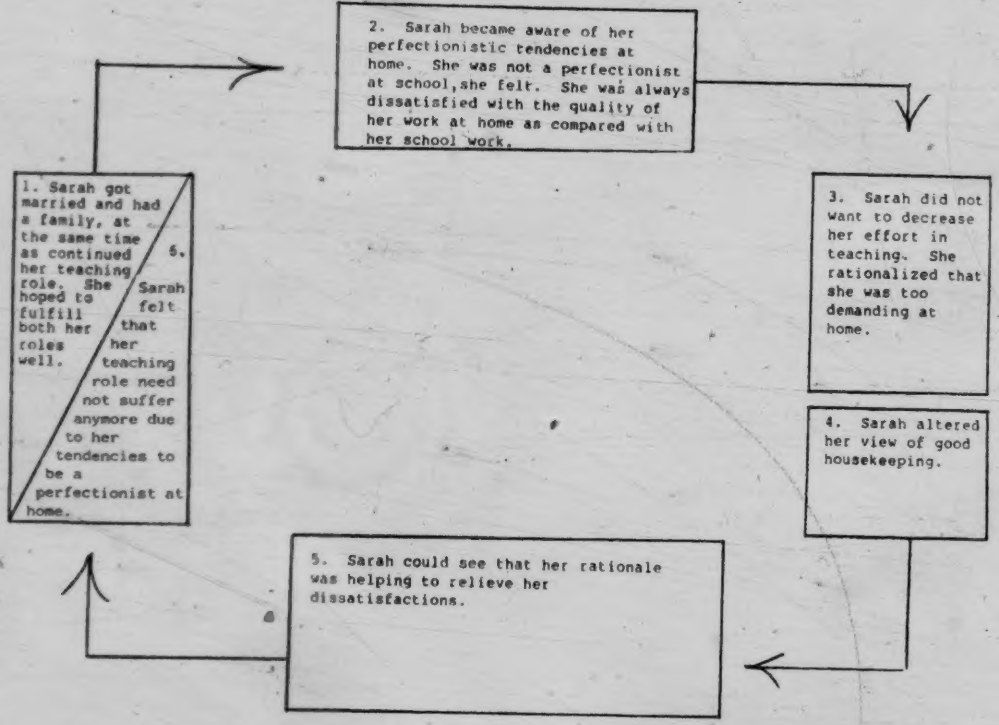
The conflict management cycle was introduced in Chapter III and graphically presented on page 50 as Figure 3, A Cyclic Model of Conflict Management. It is based on explanations about conflict management as offered by a number of established researchers from the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology and education. It was shown in Chapter III that this cycle could consist of six basic steps. These steps assist with the task of elaborating the experience of dealing with various conflicting role expectations. In general, it was found that the data support this cyclical explanation. The six steps of this cycle, once again, are:

1. initial perspective regarding role expectations;
2. awareness of conflicting demands (and a subsequent increase or decrease of intensity felt about the conflicting demands);
3. dynamic weighing of the perceived situation with the actions perceived to be possible and satisfactory;
4. committing thought to action;
5. awareness (or evaluation) of the results of the action taken; and
6. altered perspective regarding role expectations.

Within each vignette presented in the case reports, a number of experiences of conflict were shown. These experiences can all be expressed in terms of the cycle mentioned above. These experiences of conflict were expressed in linear form at the end of each vignette. The reason for their being presented in such a fashion was to show the development of experiences of conflict adhering basically to the steps of the cycle while maintaining a more readable form. The cycle itself, as will be shown, is not always easy to read when contextual information is entered within its framework.

At this time it is important to illustrate how this information can be expressed in such a form. The vignettes selected were the first ones in each case report, chosen due to their chronological order rather than based on their degree of fit to the cycle. These illustrations are presented as adaptations from the linear figures mentioned. They are offered over the next four pages, each referring to a different subject. The first is Figure 35, A Cyclic Model Showing Sarah Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload. This illustration is adapted from Figure 9, Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload. The second is Figure 36, A Cyclic Model showing Lux Striking a Balance between Personal Interests and the Needs of Others. This illustration is adapted from Figure 15, Striking a Balance between Personal Interests and the Needs of Others. The third is Figure 37, A Cyclic Model showing Safeb Counterbalancing a Tendency to Overemphasize the Teaching Role. This illustration is adapted from Figure 21, Counterbalancing a Tendency to Overemphasize the Teacher Role. Finally, the fourth illustration is Figure 38, A Cyclic Model showing Margaret Attempting to Juggle Teaching and Domestic Responsibilities. This illustration is adapted from Figure 28, Attempting to Juggle Teaching and Domestic Responsibilities.

Attempts have been made to select starting points which are about the same for all subjects. However, finding exactly the same starting point among them was not possible. Nevertheless, if not the same, similar points were possible because the same interactors and the same general problems (personal, in this case)



1. Sarah got married and had a family, at the same time as continued her teaching role. She hoped to fulfill both her roles well.

2. Sarah became aware of her perfectionistic tendencies at home. She was not a perfectionist at school, she felt. She was always dissatisfied with the quality of her work at home as compared with her school work.

3. Sarah did not want to decrease her effort in teaching. She rationalized that she was too demanding at home.

4. Sarah altered her view of good housekeeping.

5. Sarah could see that her rationale was helping to relieve her dissatisfactions.

6. Sarah felt that her teaching role need not suffer anymore due to her tendencies to be a perfectionist at home.

Figure 35. A Cyclic Model Showing Sarah Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload.

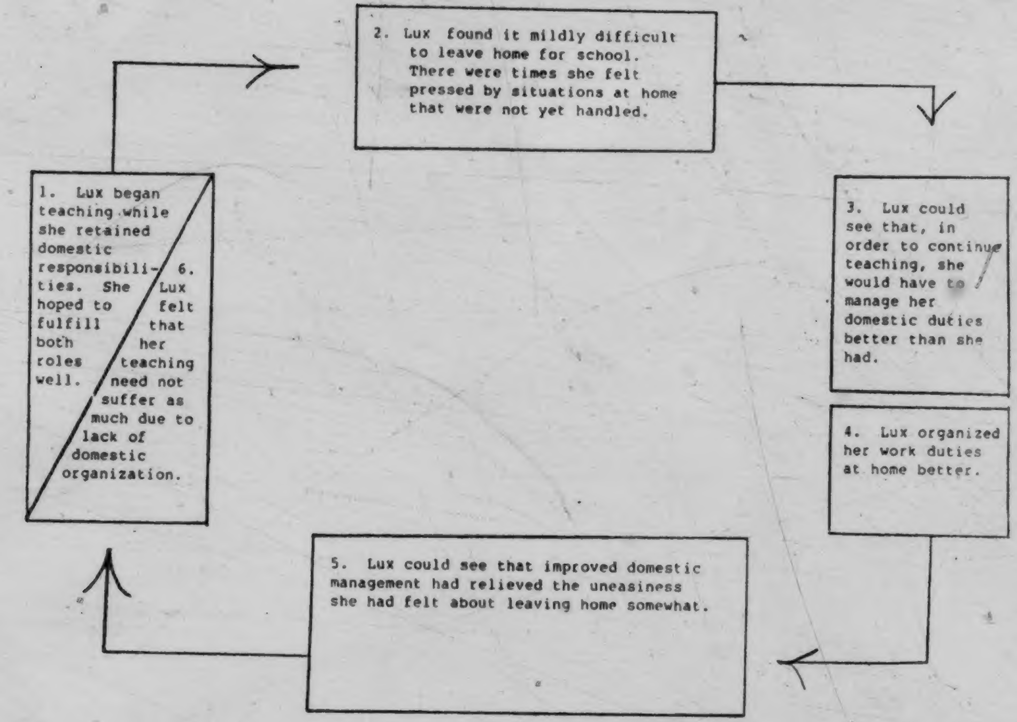

1. Lux began teaching while she retained domestic responsibilities. She hoped to fulfill both roles well.
2. Lux found it mildly difficult to leave home for school. There were times she felt pressed by situations at home that were not yet handled.
3. Lux could see that, in order to continue teaching, she would have to manage her domestic duties better than she had.
4. Lux organized her work duties at home better.
5. Lux could see that improved domestic management had relieved the uneasiness she had felt about leaving home somewhat.
6. Lux felt that her teaching need not suffer as much due to lack of domestic organization.

Figure 36. A Cyclic Model Showing Lux Striking a Balance between Personal Interests and the Needs of Others.

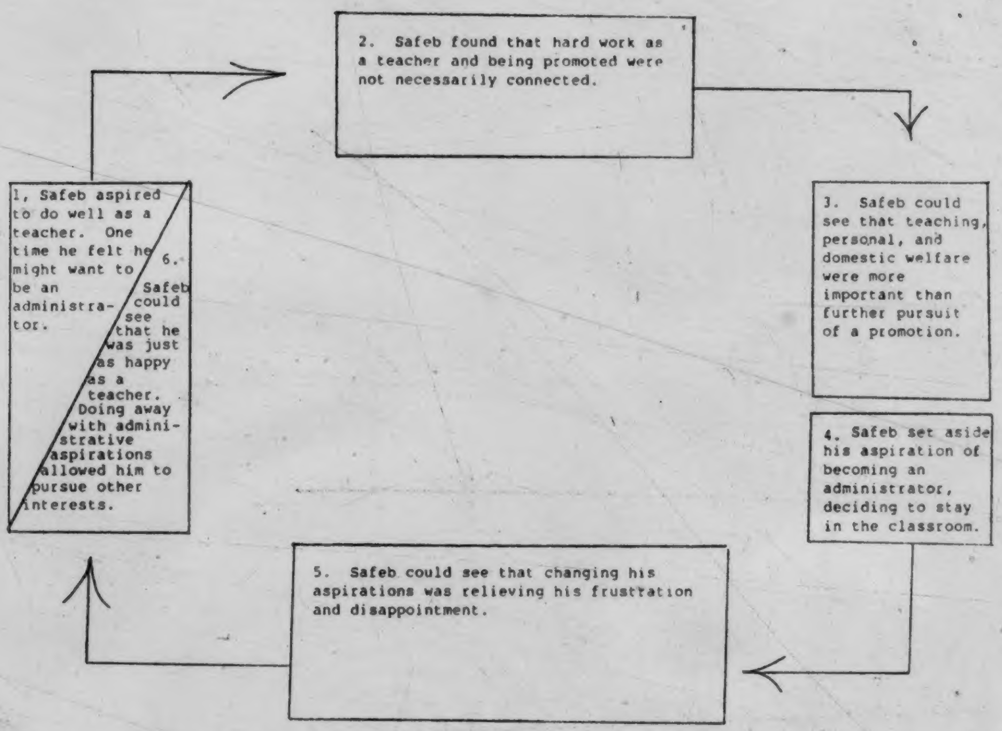

2. Safeb found that hard work as a teacher and being promoted were not necessarily connected.
3. Safeb could see that teaching, personal, and domestic welfare were more important than further pursuit of a promotion.
4. Safeb set aside his aspiration of becoming an administrator, deciding to stay in the classroom.
5. Safeb could see that changing his aspirations was relieving his frustration and disappointment.
1, Safeb aspired to do well as a teacher. One time he felt he might want to be an administrator.
6. Safeb could see that he was just as happy as a teacher. Doing away with administrative aspirations allowed him to pursue other interests.

Figure 37. A Cyclic Model Showing Safeb Counterbalancing a Tendency to Overemphasize the Teaching Role.

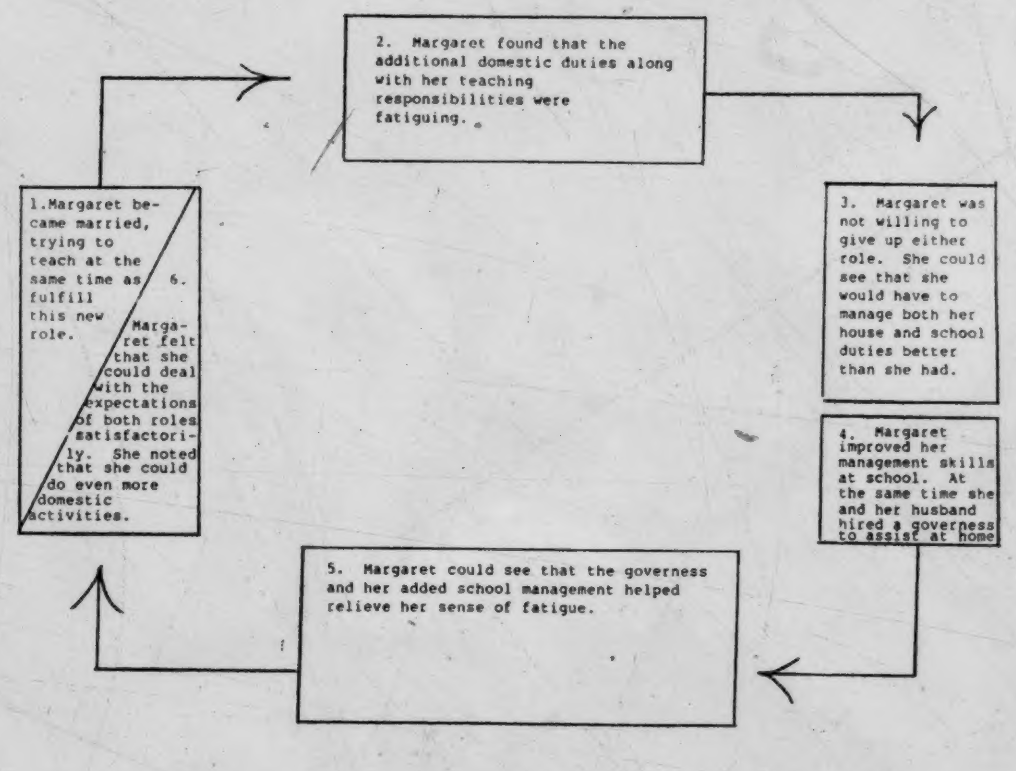

2. Margaret found that the additional domestic duties along with her teaching responsibilities were fatiguing.
3. Margaret was not willing to give up either role. She could see that she would have to manage both her house and school duties better than she had.
4. Margaret improved her management skills at school. At the same time she and her husband hired a governess to assist at home
5. Margaret could see that the governess and her added school management helped relieve her sense of fatigue.
1. Margaret became married, trying to teach at the same time as fulfill this new role.
6. Margaret felt that she could deal with the expectations of both roles satisfactorily. She noted that she could do even more domestic activities.

Figure 38. A Cyclic Model Showing Margaret Attempting to Juggle Teaching and Domestic Responsibilities.

were discussed. Further, in the same way, it should be noted that details at each step were not the same for each individual. However, the contextual information does remain relatively consistent within the cycle's framework.

There are other important qualifications that need to be made regarding the general application of the cycle. First, it should be noted that the intensity of each experience of conflict varies from one subject to the next. Second, more than one problem can occur at the same time. While these illustrations do not show concurrent conflicts, all subjects reported such was actually the case. Third, the solutions found to deal with the conflicts are varied. Fourth, the solutions themselves may terminate at the end of a cycle for one subject and, for others, the problem remains to be dealt with more completely in the future. Fifth, as the subjects reported their experience the details appeared rather idiosyncratic, as the researcher had expected. Nevertheless, while the context within each stage was often different, the stages themselves were the same.

Finally, the data presented a forceful notion that had not been previously emphasized in Chapter III. The cycle itself can recur many times over. An example of this phenomenon is offered in Figure 39, A Complex Model showing Sarah Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload. This illustration is an adaptation from Figure 9, Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload, an extension of Figure 35, A Cyclic Model of Sarah Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload. The data showed that, as a conflict cycle was completed, it tended to continue. This continuation was because the solution at the

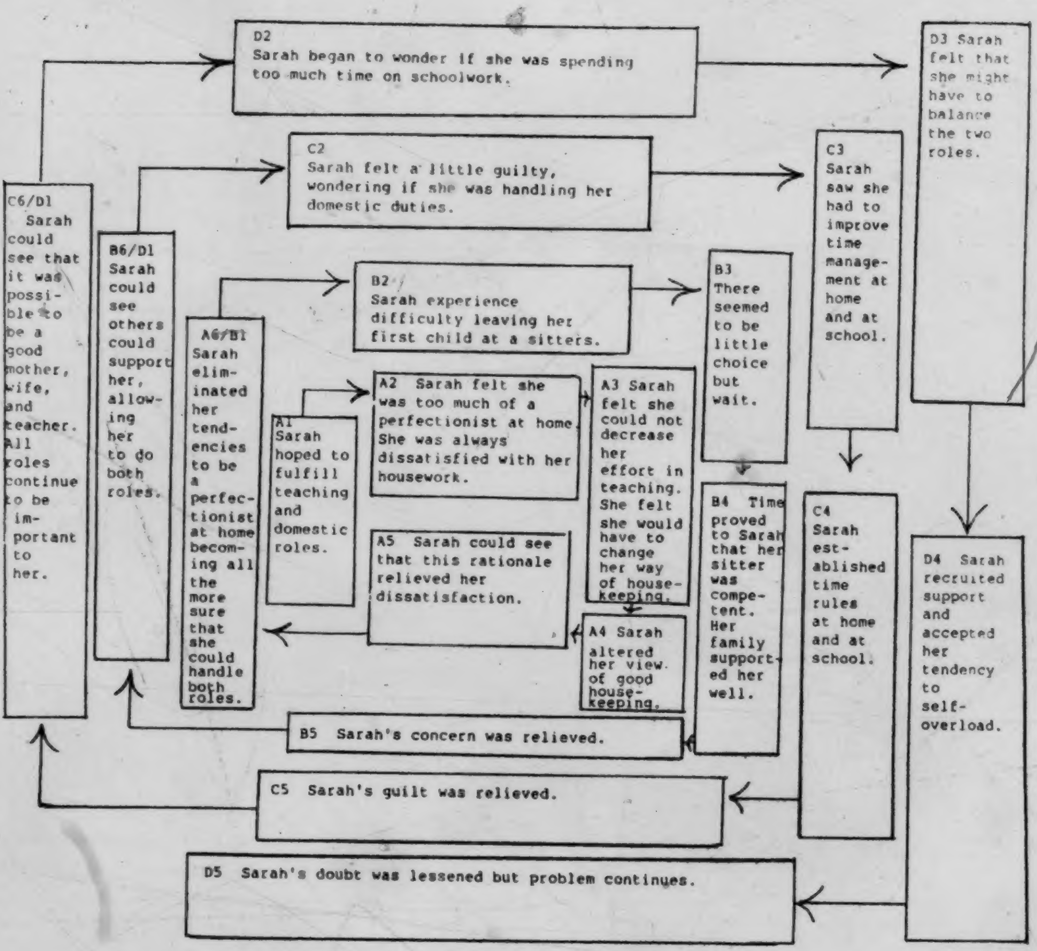

D2 Sarah began to wonder if she was spending too much time on schoolwork.
D3 Sarah felt that she might have to balance the two roles.
C2 Sarah felt a little guilty, wondering if she was handling her domestic duties.
C3 Sarah saw she had to improve time management at home and at school.
C6/D1 Sarah could see that it was possible to be a good mother, wife, and teacher. All roles continue to be important to her.
B6/D1 Sarah could see others could support her, allowing her to do both roles.
B2 Sarah experience difficulty leaving her first child at a sitters.
B3 There seemed to be little choice but wait.
A6/B1 Sarah eliminated her tendencies to be a perfectionist at home becoming all the more sure that she could handle both roles.
A1 Sarah hoped to fulfill teaching and domestic roles.
A2 Sarah felt she was too much of a perfectionist at home. She was always dissatisfied with her housework.
A3 Sarah felt she could not decrease her effort in teaching. She felt she would have to change her way of housekeeping.
A5 Sarah could see that this rationale relieved her dissatisfaction.
A4 Sarah altered her view of good housekeeping.
B4 Time proved to Sarah that her sitter was competent. Her family supported her well.
C4 Sarah established time rules at home and at school.
D4 Sarah recruited support and accepted her tendency to self-overload.
B5 Sarah's concern was relieved.
C5 Sarah's guilt was relieved.
D5 Sarah's doubt was lessened but problem continues.

Figure 39. A Complex Model Showing Sarah Overcoming a Tendency to Self-Overload.

end of one cycle sometimes proved to be temporary for the subject. Thus the conflict was found to re-emerge, requiring further attention by Sarah, in this case. For Sarah, such a reoccurrence was particularly true where she, during conflict perception stages B2, C2, and D2, had to deal for some time with her own sense of guilt about leaving her family in order to continue teaching. As is shown, this conflict is not yet entirely solved and has to be readdressed each time Sarah is faced with new situations related to the specific problem cited.

It is of particular worth noting that each stage should not be seen as having a clear cause-and-effect relationship regarding only one conflict. These stages, while adhering to a general developmental pattern, also seem to interrelate with other perceived conflicts. For instance, Sarah's perception of guilt regarding the amount of time and effort she spends doing home-related work influences, to a certain degree, her work with students and adult interactors. The strategies she uses to deal with conflict are interrelated, being used as strategies for other conflicts. Examples of strategies Sarah used widely are seen in Figure 39: altering her view of the conflict (A4), waiting for her situation to change with others (B4), and improving her time and people-management skills (C4 and D4).

A last important point regarding the recurring nature of the cycle needs to be made. The subjects indicated that they had, and continue to have, a number of role conflict experiences which happen concurrently. The various problems, their perceived solutions, and evaluations of the resulting action often occur at the same time. Thus the cycle, if drawn completely, would look very much like a number of overlapping, interconnecting circles. Some of these circles would be in motion, some temporarily inactive, perhaps. Some of these circles would move more quickly than others, depending upon the intensity with which they are felt and the ability of the subjects to deal with them. Finally, the focus of action within each cycle, if it were possible to visually cite such a point, would be where consciousness itself is located, sparked by conflicting expectations and the drive to solve these conflicts.

This description of the cycle itself now ends. The discussion turns next to the analysis of the effects that experiencing the cycle has had on the subjects.

The Results of Having Experienced Conflicting Role Expectations Over Time

The research for this study was done with senior teachers who gave a retrospective account about their experiences of role conflicts. Thus, the content of the cycle should be considered in the light that all present views are relevant primarily to the past. This section looks at the details of these accounts, paying particular attention to how the subjects perceive their role conflict and their abilities to manage role conflict over time. As well, this discussion will conclude with an analysis of how the subjects' perspectives have changed over time and how experiences of conflict, conflict management, and subsequent perspective changes have affected the subjects. It is important to point out at this time that the following analyses are reported in accordance with the stages of the conflict management cycle itself.

How the Subjects Perceive Conflicting Role Expectations Over Time

The format of this presentation will be similar to the vignettes, using what the subjects considered to be key interactors as focal points in discussing their conflicts. These headings will, once again, be ordered in terms of their proximity to the subjects themselves.

Conflicts involving personal expectations

All four subjects reported feeling conflict between their personal and school lives. Each of these conflicts involved an attempt to balance time to favourably represent both responsibilities and both roles. Earlier in their careers, for instance, all subjects experienced some anxiety because they sensed that their home life was not getting enough of their time. The three women, all mothers, felt some anxiety about abandoning their domestic duties. For Margaret and Sarah, leaving their children in the care of someone else was a considerable problem. However, the anxiety has long since faded away as their families have grown up. Margaret, however, continues to experience some difficulty in this area.

All four subjects reported that, during the earlier phases of their careers, they had a tendency to spend too much time on schoolwork after students were dismissed. Whether the work was done at school or taken home meant that their personal lives were not getting the time and attention they had hoped for. Now, all four agree, this pressure has largely diminished. However, there is an additional development that is of further interest. While Safeb and Margaret feel this tendency has subsided and is well under control, Lux and Sarah both report that schoolwork continues to call for their attention during various times of the evening and weekends. But the interesting point here is that now both are relatively free of the motherhood role that once took so much of their time after school. Being involved in thinking about school during out-of-school time has begun to take on the form of an avocation for them as well as a vocation. Lux and Sarah feel less necessity to have to attend to school thoughts; therefore, such an endeavour is now more a labour of love. Thus it would appear that the two older teachers are less protective about their home lives, whereas Margaret and Safeb continue to be protective. Overall, this tendency to spend too much time on schoolwork after hours causes neither Lux nor Sarah any great anxiety, although as Sarah reports, she does feel that thinking about classroom activities is difficult to escape at times.

Presently, the only teacher of the four who continues to feel any sense of tension regarding balancing responsibilities between home and school is Margaret. This is because she feels she has two full-time roles which she is forced to continuously juggle in order to satisfactorily handle both. Yet, even in Margaret's case, she reports that the tension she felt when she first tried to blend her domestic and teaching duties has subsided considerably. Further, all four subjects agree that they are active managers of maintaining a balance that must occur between their personal and school lives.

Conflicts involving meeting of student expectations

A pervading conflict regarding students was a clash between the teachers' expectations of students and their students' inability, lack of interest, or drive to meet those expectations. This concern was, as the subjects reported, their way of meeting student expectations. All four subjects felt they began their careers with rather high expectations of their students. As well, each of them suggested that during those first few years of teaching they were not entirely clear as to what or how much their students could or would cope with. Safeb, Margaret, and Lux pointed out that they had earlier struggled with rather rigid expectations of their students and tended not to alter them for individuals or for special circumstances. Each of these teachers reported that often their students did not live up to the expectations that they had set for the students. Sarah, on the other hand, claims this was less of a problem originally. She feels she has always been the type of teacher to be flexible and adapt to the needs, interests, and capabilities of her students. However, she suggests that children began to change ten to fifteen years ago. They seem more critical and less willing to strive in school compared with their counterparts from years before. Thus Sarah has found that meeting student expectations is at least as much a problem now as it ever was.

A further development related to student expectations, and reported in varying degrees by all four subjects, was a tendency by the subjects to be too self-critical about mistakes they made in their teaching. Lux reported this problem as intensely felt earlier in her career. Sarah and Safeb also mentioned that this area was a problem at one time. Margaret however, reported that self-criticism regarding her teaching was never a major problem, although, she concludes, she is not entirely free of this problem either.

Presently all four subjects reported that meeting various expectations of students is not a serious problem, nor is any tendency they may have had to be too self-critical about their work with students. Nevertheless, there is every indication that tension continues to exist regarding maintaining a balance between their students' expectations and their own. While none of the subjects reported this area as being presently distressful, they all agreed that the diminished tension they feel is a reflection of their own active management skills. Such skills will be reviewed later.

Conflicts involving the expectations of other teachers

All four subjects reported having felt a conflict of interests with other teachers early in their careers. Lux and Sarah were disappointed to find that few colleagues were interested in professional sharing. Both remember situations where other teachers seemed to purposely ignore or react defensively against Lux and Sarah's zeal to share. This difficulty no longer exists for Sarah and it has been considerably reduced for Lux as well. Interestingly, Margaret claims she has always had the opposite tendency. She preferred and continues to prefer interpreting curriculum development aids and participating in instructional activities independently from her peers. Such an independent view has been reinforced over the years as she feels she has become more and more expert in these skills. Margaret's view today is that collegiality is a continuously forced notion. Safeb, on the other hand, has never seen this area as an important conflict in his teaching, although he freely offers to his colleagues advice about law and politics in education.

While Sarah and Margaret do not see eye-to-eye regarding collegial sharing, there is an aspect of it that they do agree on. That aspect regards the tendency by other teachers to take program ideas that Sarah or Margaret were working on and implement them in part or totally into their own classroom activities. Such acts, they claimed, were done without inquiry being made or credit being offered. Both teachers reported being extremely distraught earlier in their careers about this type of conduct by their peers. However, while they presently recognize that this type of territorial invasion continues to occur, it doesn't seem so prevalent anymore nor do they feel so sensitive when such circumstances reappear.

Lux and Safeb mentioned no such difficulty regarding what Margaret and Sarah refer to as "stealing" of program ideas. However, Safeb's greatest conflict regarding other teachers has been an invasion of another kind. Safeb has noticed, over the years, that some teachers seem to need to criticize and downgrade others when they are frustrated. He has heard these other teachers talk in such a way about students, parents, the principal, and even other teachers. Such talk has always upset him. He claims, while such negativity does not occur often, it does reoccur periodically in the present. Sarah mentioned the same conflict but has found, in recent years, that it has disappeared entirely.

Lastly, general staff decisions have caused all four subjects a certain anguish at times. This anguish has been felt when a group plan required the subjects to set aside their own classroom plans. All four claim that this conflict is no longer as prevalent as it once was, although Margaret and Lux mentioned that preemptions by staff decisions can be annoying at times. Once again, the subjects agree that the general diminishment of conflicts involving other teachers is due largely to their own active management skills.

Conflicts involving parent expectations

Sarah is the only one of the four subjects who reported having had considerable conflict with parents. This conflict, she claims, is because her teaching style has always been so different from what parents are used to. Therefore, each year, parents make concerned inquiries about what she is doing with their children. Yet, despite the fact that she has had more face-to-face conflicts with parents than have the other subjects, the other three show just as much concern about the maintenance of home support for their teaching. Safeb feels that parental support is very important to his job. But because of this he reported feeling a sense of frustration from being too careful with parents. Margaret, Lux, and Sarah have experienced little frustration in this area. Yet, they too are greatly concerned that harmony exists between themselves and parents. They do recognize that interactions with parents can, at times, produce considerable pressures. Thus, while all four teachers agree that they experience very little or no anxiety regarding parent conflict, they also claim to spend much time and effort seeing that such conflicts do not arise. Just how they do this will be discussed later.

Conflicts involving expectations of the principal and/or vice principal

Lux was the only teacher to report having had little or no direct conflict with her principals or vice principals. The other three each experienced different and yet very traumatic conflicts with some of these administrators early in their careers. Sarah felt, because of her unorthodox teaching style, that she did not fit the norm of the day. Subsequently, her principals were somewhat skeptical about what she was doing. Safeb, while speaking fondly of earlier administrators, does recognize that some of them, especially vice principals, could be quick to pass on curriculum-related pressures to him. Margaret has had a history of conflict with her immediate superiors. Her problem has tended to focus on a difference of opinion of what are fair time expectations between her and those superiors. The result has been that she has had to stand sometimes against her school administrators, causing continued tension.

Interestingly, while the exact nature of the conflicts experienced by Margaret, Safeb, and Sarah varied, the end result was that they felt they had been betrayed and that their school administrators no longer supported them. There is a suggestion of spoilage with this perceived loss of support; each subject suggesting that he/she felt a sense of alienation from either the principal or vice-principal at various times. This alienation is evident most prevalently with Margaret who continues to question the sincerity of her current administrators, particularly her principal. Lux and Safeb did not speak of present conflicts with their school administrators. However, they did hint that they were not without some tension in this area. Sarah was the only one of the four who said she was totally conflict-free with her present principal. Despite the relatively acceptable present circumstances, all subjects agreed that between themselves and their immediate school administrators there remains contunued potential for conflict.

Conflicts involving the expectations of specialists

According to the subjects, specialists are personnel from the local board who function in two ways. The first way is to respond to teachers' invitations to assist them with students or in-class implementation of curricula. The second way is to generally offer in-service workshops regarding curriculum and instruction to groups of teachers. As far as conflicts are concerned, the subjects seem split regarding specialists. Sarah, for example, has always been extremely involved in professional development. In recent years she reports that she has been convinced, largely by others, of her own expertise. Therefore, while she is a classroom teacher, she has been acting the part of a type of consultant. She does this in her own school as well as for the larger school system itself, demonstrating what she sees as good teaching techniques. Thus, Sarah has not felt any sense of conflict in this area nor does she presently feel any.

Lux also has had little sense of conflict in this area, being one to continuously look for the chance to upgrade herself. She has not felt greatly pressured or overloaded by these personnel. However, she did experience some difficulty implementing curricula earlier in her career. While she suggested that specialists sometimes seemed to leave the majority of the implementation work to her, she was not unhappy with them for that tendency.

Safeb and Margaret are quite different in this regard. Safeb has had several experiences with specialists arriving to intervene in his classroom. As far as he was concerned these people had invaded his territory. While situations where these circumstances could be repeated are not so common, Safeb admits, he would still feel resentful about such invasions. Margaret's feeling about specialists is even more adamant. While she has had little direct conflict with these people, she has concluded from indirect sources that what specialists offer during out-of-class time is a waste of her time. For this reason, she has concluded that specialists do not play a major part in her role and can interfere with her very busy time schedule if she were to allow them to do so.

While Sarah and Lux have had fairly positive experiences with specialists, Safeb and Margaret have not. Yet, regarding the question of present conflict, they are all similar. None of them currently experiences any major sense of conflict with specialists.

Conflicts involving the expectations of board or department officials

Sarah and Lux reported that they had, at one time, felt that board and department pressures were too demanding. They agreed that the focal point of this pressure was on curriculum standardization as well as curriculum change. The expectation to rigidly adhere to curricula was too much, they reported. Now Sarah and Lux feel that these pressures have been relieved. The rate of curriculum change and the extent to which teachers are held to comply with new curriculum standards is less, they report. They, along with Margaret, presently feel that having guidelines come out at the current rate is quite suitable for grades one and two teaching. Thus, the flow of ideas is kept dynamic and exciting, they feel.

Safeb, on the other hand, did not feel this conflict in the past. However, presently he is feeling vexed over curriculum involvement by the government, seeing it as too much of an attempt to control teaching. As a grade six teacher he finds it very difficult to stay abreast of all the suggested changes. With attempts to control what the students learn, such as standardized examinations in mathematics, he feels locked into complying. His claim is that those who make major educational decisions do not really care about teachers. Otherwise, he adds, those officials would ask for teachers' views regarding curricula.

The motives of board or department officials were at one time questioned by Margaret. Earlier in their careers this was not so for the other three. However, more recently Safeb, and to a lesser extent Lux, have begun to question seriously whether or not decisions from this higher level are inspired by interest in students or self-interest.

Sarah, Margaret, and Safeb seem to have increased their involvement with board and/or department officials in recent years, Sarah and Margaret in a pleasant way, Safeb perhaps less so. Lux, on the other hand, seems to have remained only distantly aware of such officials. None of the four subjects seems dissatisfied with his or her present association with the board or department in general.

Conclusion: Conflict over a field of intent

Generally, the conflicts that the subjects of this study reported experiencing earlier in their careers have diminished. However, they also pointed out that old worries periodically re-emerge, indicating that past conflicts have not been eliminated entirely. Some new conflicts have appeared as the years passed, as well. Recently such conflicts largely involve aspects of teacher territoriality. Yet, all subjects agree that present conflicts are not intensely felt nor are they overly abundant.

The tension felt by the subjects focuses largely on a number of key interactors. While this focus of attention has been placed on individuals, it is actually a field of intent where the conflict itself occurs. This field, or territory, lies between teachers and their key interactors. At times this field is the site of a struggle between these individuals. The teachers' intentions are filled with hopes and plans which they have for their students. At the same time they have their own personal hopes and plans which come into play and can conflict with the former. As well, students do not always conform to what teachers have in mind, not to mention that many adult interactors offer views which are not entirely agreeable with the intentions of the teachers.

So the field between teachers and their key interactors can be the site of conflict. These encounters are intense, yet usually brief. Therefore, it should be made clear that this field is, under normal circumstances, conflict-free and harmonious. Otherwise the system in which teachers work would presumably crumble and decay. By the same token, the conflicts that do occur periodically play a very important part in the role definition of teacher, the memory of which influences them for many years after the conflicts occur. This is because the expectations of various interactors are not neatly independent of each other. These interactors, and subsequently the expectations they have of teachers, are largely interdependent upon each other, sharing interests in the overall welfare of students. Disagreement between them about student-related matters is where conflict appears in one form or another. Regardless of the actual outward behavior brought on by conflicts, one thing is sure: attention has been raised, putting two very significant actions into effect. First, teachers select and use a strategy to assist themselves to reach a satisfactory solution to the conflict. Second, as a result of attempts to find a solution, the perspective of teachers involving role definition is re-evaluated and often altered. These two points will be considered next.

How the Subjects Perceive Their Attempts to Manage Conflicting Role Expectations Over Time

This part presents the various strategies which the four subjects of the study reported. The aim is to discuss the strategies which the subjects used early in their careers, the strategies they have learned to use more recently, as well as their perceptions of any change in terms of their choice of and ability to use these strategies.

Unlike the previous presentation, this discussion will not follow the subheadings provided by focusing on key interactors. Rather, three main subheadings have been selected which reflect those used in the discussion sections of each case report. These three subheadings are: Compliance, Opposition, and Compromise. They have been chosen because they satisfactorily clarify the various strategies reported by the subjects, thus allowing comparison. These headings might best be pictured on a continuum of possibilities, from the extreme opposites of total compliance and total opposition to the more middle-of-the-road strategy of compromise. The headings are presented first with moderately popular strategies and ending with strategies which all subjects agreed they preferred.

Compliance

The subjects of this study reported using three main forms of compliance. They are: retreating, accepting, and associating. Each of these strategies refers to, in one fashion or another, the subjects giving in to someone else's expectations. When these strategies are used, the subjects agree, there appear to be no other alternative actions available.

Retreating. Retreating refers to when the subjects back away from conflict. Often such conflict involves a face-to-face confrontation. Early examples of this strategy were reported by Sarah and Lux who found that their zeal to interact with other teachers led to some antagonism. The solution, they found, was to curb their enthusiasm. In doing so, both felt they had been able to preserve a relatively good rapport with their immediate peers.

Neither Safeb nor Margaret reported early antagonism due to zeal about any aspect of their teaching. However, Margaret had some difficulty with her immediate superiors and found it necessary to retreat from situations of antagonism with them. Safeb also felt unhappy about the attitudes of certain colleagues which resulted in the same type of retreating.

All subjects reported using this strategy early in their careers. But they tended to see it as a temporary solution, having no longterm satisfaction. With the passing of time Sarah and Margaret found they had little need to use this strategy. Lux and Safeb periodically use retreating now. All four tend to agree that retreating can be useful in preserving the peace between themselves and others. However, they point out, this is sometimes done at the expense of their own positions. Overall, the subjects feel that they can use retreating as a strategy presently but none of them depend on it as a lasting solution to their problems.

Accepting. Accepting is a strategy where the subjects choose to deal with conflict by simply waiting for better times to come. Early examples of this strategy were evident when Margaret and, to a lesser extent Sarah, put up with unhappy situations with their principals. It appears that all four subjects simply put up with various difficulties early in their careers. For the most part their patience was rewarded, as they eventually found better conditions when they were transfered and gained new associations.

The strategy of accepting is also evident with curriculum conflicts, as far as Lux and Sarah are concerned. These two subjects reported that curriculum expectations have decreased over the years. Thus the conditions themselves, they agreed, had changed and the strategy used proved fruitful.

Another area of conflict recently presenting itself, where accepting has been used by the subjects, involves self-acceptance. For instance, Lux reported that she had tended to be extremely self-critical about what she did as a teacher. For the most part, she reminisces, she was too hard on herself. But with the passing of years, she reports, she began to accept her own shortcomings, realizing that perfection was an ideal worth aiming for but not a realistic self-expectation. Such a rationale, she states, made it easier to accept herself as a teacher. She extended this argument by expressing the views that one's weaknesses as well as one's strengths are important to accept as a conflict strategy and that one cannot control all situations.

Sarah spoke about self-acceptance being important. She reported that she did have a tendency to worry unnecessarily earlier in her career. When the old worries reappear, she presently reminds herself that she cannot do everything and that it is better for her purposely to dispense with such feelings. The reason, she concludes, is because it is the worry itself that is the problem, detracting from the things she has set out to do. Margaret agreed with Sarah and Lux, applying the same rational argument. The various roles she juggles have presented and continue to present her with difficulties. She claimed that rationalizing that whatever her efforts are is good enough helps her subdue a sense of guilt about not doing all things well all the time.

All subjects suggested that it is important to come to a position of self-acceptance and that this strategy has been useful at various times of their careers. Besides self-acceptance there are still other areas where this strategy is used presently. For instance, Lux continues to wait patiently upon others who may prove to be overly aggressive. Safeb reported, once he has had the opportunity to speak out against what he sees as unfair expectations of educational authorities, he finds it easier t6 accept decisions by them. Margaret, Sarah, and Lux all mentioned that they feel it is important to accept staff decisions, even if conflicting.

The subjects of this study have some conflicts that they feel they cannot satisfactorily solve. In seeing that there is little sense in pursuing solutions to such conflicts, they accept the problems, suppressing them. Further, in some instances, the subjects are able to transfer their attention to areas where their efforts can be effective, thus replacing whatever difficulties they were faced with. For instance, instead of getting involved in problem solving endeavours seen to be fruitless, Safeb pursues political and commercial interests; Margaret her domestics; Lux self-growth; and Sarah promotion of a teaching style.

Overall the subjects agreed that, unlike retreating, accepting can be more than a temporary solution to their problems. Their comments generally reflected the view that life is full of "ups and downs". Therefore, accepting the bad with the good, they agreed, is a useful means of finding peace within themselves, as well as finding a satisfactory balance regarding expectations they see others having of them.

Associating. The third form of compliance is "associating". Associating refers to the use of others to assist in dealing with conflicting expectations. Early indications of this strategy were offered by all four subjects as they reported observing other teachers handling various role conflicts. For the most part, the other teachers provided help by example, the subjects reported. Safeb, Lux,and Sarah also mentioned seeking and receiving direct advice from peers early in their careers.

There is little indication to believe that the subjects were consciously selective about whom they associated with in the past. However, as the years have passed, selectivity has become a pattern for all. For instance, while Lux does not eliminate the possibility of associating with her immediate peers and other adults, she has recognized that only a few adults, along with her students, really share her interests.

All four subjects also reported seeing negative examples of behavior by other teachers, students, parents, their principals, and others. Thus, through observation, the subjects were able to select proper and improper behavior patterns for themselves, as well as to see more definitive roles for others.

Lux's association with what she refers to as an "authentic ideal" refers to teachers she has known in a spiritual form of associating. Many of her problems are presently solved through her reference to her authentic ideal rather than to specific people, she reports. Margaret reports having largely practical associations through her job, allowing friendships to become part of her school life only if practical. Conflicts are dealt with through the assistance of a small group of peers. Safeb reports having retained close ties with colleagues from elsewhere. Like Lux, Safeb does not eliminate possibilities for associating but generally looks for advice and assistance outside of his present school. Sarah is the only one of the four subjects who reports no such present selectivity, although it can be argued that she has a close allegiance to a number of other experienced teachers with whom she closely relates outside of her own school.

There are also indications that some subjects continue to look for advice from others. But they have also become selective about whom they ask and accept advice from. For instance, Safeb and Sarah report that periodically, when all else fails, they need a "shoulder to cry on". Only their closet allies are allowed to share, and seem able to cope with, such difficulties. Of course, the outcome is nothing more than a cathartic release, they agreed. Nevertheless, they both emphasized that such a release is very important at times. Margaret and Safeb reported that they sometimes share their school-related problems with their spouses. All four subjects strongly advise that use of spouses in this way should be limited, however. While Lux looks to others less for sympathy or direct advice than the other subjects, she points out the importance of associating for the purpose of exploring ideas. Talk itself, she continues, clarifies and resolves problems directly or indirectly, whether the talk is done with students, personal friends, or others. Further, she points out, the research itself has served this purpose for her. (There is more mention of this in Chapter X.) All other subjects agreed about the importance of talk itself, although they use it in various ways. Margaret and Sarah use talk with others for immediate and practical purposes. Further, Margaret mentioned laughing-off difficulties with her grade-level peers. Safeb alluded to a similar point and emphasized the comradery possible when teachers go for a Friday after-school drink. Lux remains open to any form of associating, seeing all sorts of indirect value in being this way.

The use of associating by the subjects seems to offer focus to clarify role behavior for them. They recently seem to prefer being selective in the amount they associate with others and also with whom they associate. Their attempts to distance from others sometimes might indicate that the subjects believe that too much associating, with too many people, has an eventual diminishing effect on their ability to do their work with children to their own satisfaction.

Opposition

The subjects of this study reported using three opposition strategies. They were: arguing, verbalizing, and opposing. Because these three are rather similar they will be subsumed under one heading.

According to the subjects, opposition is used as a strategy when they perceive certain expectations to be unreasonable. Early indications of the use of this strategy were given which involved students. For example, Safeb reported students not seeming able or willing to live up to his expectations of them. The solution, he decided, was to hold them more, not less, to task. Subsequently with the passing of years, Safeb has maintained that opposing a tendency by students to "ease-off" has been the best way to get good results from them. Sarah and Lux both support this view, finding, as they have become more experienced, they have received similar good results from their students. Margaret, on the other hand, has not needed to emphasize this strategy. She reported that she had a tendency to be overly rigid with her students early on in her career. Therefore, she has had to try to add some flexibility. Thus, in this area Margaret is the only subject of the four who did not emphasize her opposition of students' tendency to work below their potential.

The subjects oppose a tendency by parents similar to the above problem with students. All four subjects reported having an increased ability to hold parents to fulfilling their parental responsibilities regarding their children and school. In a sense, the subjects oppose what seem to be unreasonable expectations of the teacher role by parents. Examples of this were given when Sarah reported she has learned to dispense quickly with weak parent arguments about what she, as a teacher, should be doing in addition to what she presently does. Safeb pointed out that he periodically reminds parents of what he can and will do and what they, in turn, should do for their children.

Regarding administrative expectations Margaret reports having an increased ability to say "No" when requests she perceives as unreasonable are made of her. Sarah has shown she can oppose administrative leaders but presently chooses not to. Safeb indicated that he uses the political forum to oppose unfair administrative decisions. He has even hinted that he enjoys using this strategy in such a way. Lux, on the other hand, abhors argument and direct forms of opposition. She usually chooses not to argue or complain, checking herself whenever she finds she is tempted to be critical of others.

Opposition is seen by the subjects as a strategy to eliminate unreasonable expectations of them. While Lux chooses not to use this strategy, the other three reserve it for limited use. The reason for this limited use is related to the concern by the subjects for support. Therefore, all three subjects who report that they currently use opposition, also emphasize the importance of extreme care when doing so. They further indicated that there is considerable skill necessary in recognizing how and when to use this strategy.

Compromise

The subjects reported using two main forms of compromise. They are: negotiating and anticipating. These strategies are used to find a happy medium between their own perceived expectations and the expectations they perceive other interactors having of them.

Negotiating. "Negotiating" is a strategy used when the subjects are not able to anticipate a conflict in advance. It involves non-forseeable occurrences and requires both giving and taking on the part of the subjects.

Early evidence of negotiating was seen when Safeb reported having to re-evaluate his job aspirations. In this case he was forced to find a compromise between the expectations of his job, the expectations of his family, and his personal life's ambitions. Faced with lack of success Safeb had to measure more carefully the worth of his efforts with the rewards offered in return. The result, for Safeb, was a new direction in job emphasis.

All subjects gave evidence that they make efforts to balance home and school activities satisfactorily. All reported following various self-made rules regarding time input, formulated to see that there was equity between those two interests. While all four use a type of negotiative skill here, Margaret and Safeb seem to be more vigorously involved because of greater family demands.

All four subjects remarked about pressures made by new curriculum documents. With experience, all agreed, they have become better at negotiating an acceptable program between curriculum expectations and their own views of those documents. Safeb reports adapting his own ideas to the new materials. Margaret, Lux, and Sarah, on the other hand, report adapting various new curriculum ideas to their own existing programs. In any event, negotiating is an important skill for the subjects as they face new expectations of this type.

Lux perhaps epitomizes one who is a skilled negotiator, as she takes information, accepting the views of others and, at the same time, representing her own views. Lux feels she has come a long way in developing this skill since her early days as a teacher. Margaret and Sarah report improvement of their negotiation techniques, using them in a variety of situations and with a variety of interactors as well. Safeb, who claims to verbally oppose a great deal, also uses negotiating to solve problems between himself and others, admitting that compromise is more often than not the result of his struggles.

The subjects' apparent interest in negotiating a compromise with other interactors seems to reflect, once again, their concern for "keeping the peace". Yet, this strategy seems also to be adequate to the task of seeing that their own views are relatively well-represented. The subjects all agreed that their skill in negotiating role expectations is better now than ever before. In turn, improvement in this skill has offered them more long-run satisfactions subsequent to experience of conflict, they claimed. For that reason negotiating presently stands as one of the most preferred ways to deal with conflicting expectations for all subjects.

Anticipating. "Anticipating" refers to a strategy where the subjects attempt to eliminate conflicting role expectations before they occur. This strategy does not always involve direct interaction with other people. Sometimes, if used as the subjects report it best used, they can head-off face-to-face difficulty altogether.

There was little evidence that anticipating was used as a major conflict management strategy by the subjects early in their careers. However, as they became more experienced Safeb and Margaret reported being able to eliminate much difficulty involving the time they were involved in their work. Through the use of certain personally established rules, they both reported successfully anticipating, and thus eliminating, further disputes with key interactors in this area. Sarah and Lux reported having acted the same way at one time, although they no longer claimed to be interested in decreasing school time now that family pressures are decreased.

All subjects said they used rules to anticipate and eliminate conflicting expectations besides those existing between family and school. They reported establishing various rules to guide their behavior as they reacted to conflicts with students, other teachers, principals, and even more distant officials beyond the immediate school community. Some of the rules mentioned involved recognition of teacher territory, extent of associating with others, and curriculum adaptation.

A more specific example of how a teacher anticipates difficulty and eliminates it before it occurs was given when Sarah described the way she recruits parent support for her work. As she explained it, such an act nurtures a healthy alliance, thus heads-off trouble before it has a chance to occur. Another example of anticipating was given by Margaret, as she described the rules she devised and learned to use, guiding her decisions regarding which meetings she will attend and which she will not attend at certain points of time. Safeb feels that, as his experience grew, he became more familiar with what his students could and would do. Seeing conditions where some students would "pull a fast one" on him helped him anticipate such situations, thus eliminate them in advance. Sarah, Lux, and to a certain degree Margaret, agreed with Safeb's point, explaining that they too anticipate and eliminate student difficulties in a similar fashion.

All subjects stated that they prefer anticipating above all other strategies. They agreed that they have had to work hard to master this strategy and claim that they are better now, than years before, at using it. Also, they report that this strategy calls for regular attention and vigilance in order to use it skillfully. It is important to note that anticipating is not only a skill devised to see the perspectives of other key interactors. Rather, it is used largely to see that there are no complaints or criticisms from others. In a sense, it is a defense mechanism which is proactive. It involves a careful balance which the subjects handle, for the most part, internally. This balance, the subjects agreed, cannot always be to their advantage. But it can eliminate conflict, they claimed, and offers them the opportunity to master better their own destinies now than years before.

Conclusion: A tendency toward compromise

The subjects agreed that the strategies of compliance and opposition generally tended to be used as extreme actions and are not preferred strategies, choosing to use them when there are few alternatives. Presently the favoured strategy by all four subjects is to find some sort of compromise as a solution to role conflicts. The subjects agreed that this strategy is often a more acceptable longterm solution to their problems. Its advantage over the others is that it allows for what they see as fair representation of their own positions at the same time as retaining the support of other interactors, so vital to their teaching jobs.

Anticipating was the preferred form of compromise. However, while it is preferred, the subjects felt that it is not always possible to anticipate difficulty in advance. In most cases the subjects choose, as a second alternative, negotiating as a role conflict strategy. After that, if they need yet another alternative strategy, depending on the strength of their position weighed with possible outcomes, they choose compliance or opposition. Once again, neither of these two strategies are seen by the subjects to be as satisfying as compromise because, they feel, with either of those strategies remnants of conflict often remain. Therefore, the subjects agreed that compliance and opposition remain as important although limited aspects of their overall repertoire for managing conflict.

Following is an example of how the subjects choose conflict management strategies. Territorial intervention stands out as the most glaring difficulty the subjects have had to face. Nevertheless, while this is true, the subjects reported that they are no longer as sensitive to intervention by others as they once were. All subjects showed that while they could directly oppose others in this area, they usually choose to compromise with others in this situation. Only, they added, when they perceive others as being clearly wrong or totally unfair would they directly use opposition as a strategy. As mentioned in the above statement, the subjects reported preferring not to use opposition because it jeopardized support systems which exist between themselves and others. Only when support cannot be lost or if it is lost altogether will the subjects consider using opposition. In the same way, the subjects agreed that total compliance is not normally a chosen method of dealing with territorial intervention. However, they also agreed that this strategy is used when there are no other options and/or when the problem is considered not worth worrying about.

It would appear that the strategies are often used sequentially. For instance, when the subjects choose one strategy, they are often led to take another strategy immediately thereafter. Thus two strategies are used in a complementary fashion to deal with a particular problem. Margaret uses associating to face unfair criticism, "laughing it off". Through the use of associating she is led to accept the conflict, thus a second strategy. Safeb, on the other hand, uses verbal opposition to deal with some new directions from board or department officials. Once he has done this, he uses compliance as a strategy. In both cases, extreme strategies are used because of a lack of alternatives. However, both subjects agreed that, when new alternatives appear, the subjects usually elect to move to a more satisfying compromise.

Another example of the way strategies are used sequentially involves how the subjects work with their students. A common conflict is a lack of student effort. While the subjects, in a sense, try to comply with the interests of their students, they also show that they can directly oppose the lack of effort shown by some of them. Nevertheless, it is argued, the ultimate goal of the subjects, in sometimes appearing to choose more extreme strategies, is to converge on a compromise between their expectations and the expectations of their students. In such a way, by choosing extreme strategies, the subjects shape future conditions which may lead to their liking.

A final example showing how strategies, which the subjects choose, can be sequential involves other teachers. The subjects all reported that they have depended heavily in the past on associating as a strategy to clarify role expectations. Through this strategy they have noted many role interpretations by their peers which the subjects have determined for themselves to be appropriate or inappropriate. Now all subjects depend less on associating for the purpose of establishing role models because role definition has become a less difficult task compared with years earlier. Nevertheless, they also reported that this area still requires their constant attention. But the major strategies have changed. They now primarily choose anticipating or negotiating strategies because, as they confidently stated, they now have more information and more skills to assist them in their management efforts.

The subjects of the study agreed that they presently have a repertoire of strategies used to solve their problems caused by conflicting expectations. This repertoire, they feel, is clearer and more useable than ever before. They also reported reusing strategies over and over again. The subjects agreed that their conflict management repertoire can be used with more skill than years earlier, each claiming to be better at recognizing where and how to manage conflict than years before. All in all, the subjects abide by one overriding theme when considering the use of strategies to deal with role conflicts. This theme was consistent throughout the interviews. All subjects agreed that the elimination of conflict is a main objective when they were faced with it. The primary way they choose to eliminate conflict is by "keeping the peace" between themselves and others. By taking such extreme care to balance the various expectations of their role, it appears that teachers endeavour to maintain a field of intent, or territory, which exists between themselves and their key role interactors. Rather than allowing discord to arise, they prefer to eliminate it long before it has a chance to occur. Also, they seem to agree that allowing antagonism to breed between themselves and other key interactors will inevitably lead to a deterioration of the work they do with young people.

How the Subjects' Perspectives Have Changed Regarding Aspects of Role Expectations

The following presentation is about the subjects' perspectives subsequent to their having faced various role conflicts described in the case reports. As will be shown, these perspectives have altered after each case of perceived conflict by the subjects. The result has been that the subjects re-evaluated the worth of their involvement and recognized the form that involvement would take regarding aspects of their role. Whether notions of worth were confirmed or denied in the minds of the subjects, one thing is clear: some clarification of role expectations has been at least initiated. Three areas involving change of perspective are presented. The first involves the subjects' confidence to deal with conflicting role expectations in the future. The second involves the subjects' views regarding what constitutes fair role expectations for the future. This topic has two important subtopics. One discusses what the subjects now believe are fair expectations regarding what and how much they put into their teaching (role responsibilities). The other discusses what and how much is realistic for them to expect to get out of their teaching (role rewards). The third area of perspective change is dependent on discussions of the preceding points. It involves the subjects' disposition towards role expectations, in general, and acts as a conclusion to this topic.

Confidence to deal with conflicting role expectations in the future

All subjects reported with optimism that they felt confident in their abilities to manage conflicting role expectations in the future. All four reported expecting fewer conflicts, although they agreed that conflicts would continue to occur and would call for due attention. Their rationale for such optimism was their past successes. All of them had faced and dealt with a number of role-related conflicts. They see themselves as survivors, proud that their records stand as tried and true. They seem to agree that the conflicts they remember can act as reasonable parameters of role conflicts in the future. In the same way, they reported that the strategies they have learned now stand as a basis of confidence that they can continue to face future conflicts. The subjects appeared relatively certain that no, or at least few, new circumstances of conflict beyond those parameters will occur in the future. The basis of such confidence is discussed under four subheadings next. These subheadings refer to areas of awareness which the subjects claim have increased and have become clarified over the years. They are: Increased pedagogical awareness; Increased socio-political awareness; Increased legal awareness; and Increased awareness of personal conditions.

Increased pedagogical awarenesss. "Pedagogical awareness" refers to an awareness of the teaching act itself. Regarding confidence, it refers to what the subjects have learned is workable in their teaching. This awareness is not always clearly articulated. Much of it remains tacit and intuitive. Nevertheless, it contributes powerfully towards the subjects' sense of confidence and inner strength when facing pedagogical conflicts.

All subjects reported, early in their careers, feeling some sense of confusion and lack of confidence regarding what students should do and how much students were capable of doing. But now each subject reports more clarity in this area of work. This confidence was not earned in a state of isolation and independence. Rather, the subjects reported that, during their first years in particular, they closely observed other teachers. They often compared the results of these teachers with their own results. Making such comparisons, the subjects agreed, made a strong formative impression on them regarding their views of what was pedagogically workable.

All subjects agreed that as time has passed, they have learned a great deal about themselves and their teaching role. Looking inwardly, observing their own teaching efforts, has contributed toward this self-knowledge. They have observed their successes as well as their failures in teaching. Being able to note their strengths, in particular, they agreed, has added considerably to their confidence in their teaching abilities. Seeing their strengths, they added, is an indication of self-approval. Further, because they have seen a substantial number of their teaching strengths, they pointed out that accepting their weaknesses in this area has been made relatively easy. Further, they generally agreed that acceptance of their weaknesses has provided them with a realistic view of themselves as teachers, reminding them that they are not everything in their students' lives and that there are realistic limitations to the job of teaching.

The subjects indicated that self-betterment is an important aspect of the confidence they feel about their teaching. For instance, Lux and Sarah reported that they are continuously trying to improve as teachers. Similar indications were expressed by Safeb and Margaret, although their interest in self-improvement seems geared for skills related more outside of the direct teaching role.

All subjects agreed that it was once important to receive the direct approval of others regarding their teaching skills. However, they now agree that direct approval by other adults is no longer as important as it once was, pointing out that what they do in the classroom is something other adults cannot gauge well. Instead, they claim that positive student response to their efforts remains as the one form of direct feedback that makes a marked impression on them regarding their confidence to teach well. Ironically, while the subjects of this study claim to no longer need the approval of other adult interactors, it appears that approval continues to be offered. They reported that they periodically receive compliments about their teaching from other adults. But, while they feel these compliments are not necessary, they do appreciate them, nevertheless.

Finally, all four subjects are parents. They all agreed that having reared their own children has given them invaluable insight into the problems and concerns of their students. Knowing what contemporary family living is like, they feel, has broadened their sense of understanding and has further extended their sense of confidence about their pedagogical awareness.

Thus the subjects of this study feel their confidence has increased regarding their ability to teach well. There are several reasons for this confidence. First, they have been able to observe and compare their results with the results other teachers have with students. Second, they have learned to recognize and appreciate their individual teaching strengths which allow them to see and work on their weaknesses. Third, they observe the success of their work through their students. Fourth, despite feeling it to be less important now, they have received and continue to receive approval of their teaching from other adults. Fifth, they are parents. All subjects agreed that parenting has added significantly to their ability to deal with students. Subsequently the subjects feel satisfied about their ability to recognize certain realities about public school teaching and that their teaching skills are adequate to the task. Because of this, the subjects suggest, they feel optimistic that they will continue to deal well with future role expectations.

Increased socio-political awareness. "Social-political awareness" refers to the subjects' recognition of and knowledge about the dynamics that occur between themselves and other interactors, including their students. This area of awareness will be discussed in two parts. The first part of this presentation discusses the subjects' awareness of the dynamics that occur between themselves and their immediate adult interactors. The second part discusses their awareness of a broader area of human dynamics.

As has been shown, within the school walls there are strong territorial divisions that discourage other adults from imposing on the teacher role. The subjects all spoke about this notion of territoriality. They claimed that they have learned about and abide by various implicit rules which guide them in their efforts to see that these bounds are not over-stepped by themselves or other interactors. Following is a discussion of some of the rules which were generally agreed upon by the subjects.

The subjects stated that they, alone, are responsible for planning and leading the school experiences of their students. Because no other adult could guess the intentions of the classroom teacher, they argued, there can be no other primary leader. Therefore, no other adult has the right to intervene in class activities, making assumptions about what the students should be doing or redirecting them. With various levels of intensity, the subjects agreed that intervention with their students is an imposition on their territory. Generally, they consider this type of intervention as an unacceptable action. However, they also agreed that when a teacher is not in the room, appears ailing, or requests assistance, others are welcome to intervene at those times. But in such cases would-be helpers need to tread lightly lest they interfere with that teacher's intentions.

Another territorial rule, generally agreed on by the subjects, regards the "stealing" of program or instruction ideas by other teachers. They felt that while displays are openly exhibited outside the classroom and the classroom doors remain open for passers-by to observe, it is not the right of one teacher to use the same idea without verbally giving credit to the other teacher. It is a particularly serious offense, Margaret and Sarah pointed out, when these ideas are applied incorrectly. As well, all subjects agreed that offering program or instruction ideas should be done without being aggressive or pressuring other teachers. They tended to agree that offering ideas was most appropriate when both teachers could offer something to each other, as in a trade of ideas: There is an indication that the subjects do not indulge much in negative talk about their students or, for that matter, about other adults. Generally the subjects agreed that negative talk about students is unproductive and can even be destructive regarding the growth and welfare of both students and teachers. Therefore, the subjects see "talking-down students" as poor practise. Interestingly, all subjects conceded that some teachers may need to complain about their students periodically as a cathartic release of tension.

Related to the above point, the subjects explained that there is a time and place to talk about their teaching. For instance, they do not use the staffroom during general recess periods for extended talk about student concerns. The staffroom, they all agreed, is a place which offers teachers a break away from the intensity of the classroom. Serious extended talk about aspects of their teaching, they said, should be done in the office of another staff member, in the staffroom during a spare period, in their own clasroom before or after school hours, or at general staff meetings.

The subjects have learned that selective associations with other staff members is, for various reasons, necessary. This selectivity is based on such considerations as: the grade levels they teach, their philosophical views about children and teaching, the personal interests shared by others, and so on. Sarah was the only subject who reported close ties with the majority of her present staff. However, she, too, had gone through long periods of isolation and conceded that she has learned that close association with everyone she encounters is not always productive.

All subjects agreed that it is important to pursue other interests outside of school. Outside interests, they explained, allow them to break away consciously from school thoughts at times. All teachers agreed that time spent at school requires a relatively intense immersion into the work. Wasting time means work has to go home with them. There is a definite feeling among the four that home-time and school-time should be generally separated. The former needs to be protected from the latter, they felt.

All subjects agreed that time at school was a poor measure of a teacher's worth. For instance, the teachers agreed that, while a principal might ask teachers to stay extra hours, he/she would have little or no assurance that this time was productive. Safeb, Margaret, and Sarah mentioned that it would be easy to mislead a principal regarding the amount of work they were doing. All subjects reported having devised a set of rules involving time priorities which guided them in their decisions as to when they could or should conform to time expectations of others.

All four subjects reported that it is important to appear to be teachers who contributed their fair share of the general school workload. This area of concern involves staff and the principal, in particular. All subjects intimated, in one form or another, that to be seen as not contributing their fair share would be harmful to their association with others on staff.

In a similar way, the subjects spoke of an all-important reputation which is nurtured and built up over the years. There was agreement among them that to have their reputation tarnished would present them with role difficulties in the future. Reputation is an appearance of competency, according to the subjects. The prime interactors regarding reputation, they felt, are parents, principals, and other teachers, in that order. All subjects reported feeling secure in retaining their jobs because they feel they have reputations as good teachers. One subject, Margaret, mentioned that, while reputation is an appearance of competence, it is not competence itself.

The second aspect of the subjects' increased social-political awareness involves a broader area of human dynamics. It includes such concepts as public opinion, societal change, and governmental decisions. Awareness of this area does not involve the establishment of rules. Nevertheless, the subjects claimed that it does provide them with an additional sense of security and confidence.

Sarah is adamant that children and their parents have changed over the years. Feeling that she sees a general trend toward materialism and amoralism confirms, in her own mind, that she has a clearer picture of her teacher role than these other interactors.

Lux and Sarah, due to their seniority and presumably the grade levels they teach, have recognized that the organization in which they work has become more flexible in facilitating various societal changes than years before. They feel satisfied and relatively secure, knowing that the system is presently making decisions which they find agreeable. All four subjects reported viewing the organization for which they work as being somewhat benevolent. The feelings of alienation and powerlessness which some of them felt before have diminished considerably over the years.

Safeb and Margaret seemed less conscious of social changes to children and adults related to the organization of education. But they were aware of the sensitive response of the system to what they described as the tide-like or changing moods of the public. Safeb has felt irritated over this extreme sensitivity to public opinion. However, now he feels appeased because he has found an outlet to speak out about changes which occur because of this sensitivity. Margaret and Sarah are not as concerned as Safeb about being influential in a political sense. They both seemed quite secure feeling that they have close ties with distant powers. Lux is different in this respect, maintaining an aloof position and rationalizing that higher echelon figures involved in the political scene are of little consequence to her or to what she does in her classroom.

To close, the subjects reported that they have gained in confidence over the years in their abilities to meet possible future role conflicts. This confidence has been gained, they reported, because they have learned more about the social-political realities that involve their jobs. Becoming aware of these realities has helped them establish some rules to guide their interactions on an immediate level and has also helped them formulate rather constructive optimistic outlooks toward education and society in general.

Increased legal awareness. "Legal awareness" involves information about the organizational structure of public education and knowledge of its function as determined by rules of policy and procedure. As well, such knowledge extends beyond the educational organizational system to include the laws of the land, largely represented by educational authorities.

The teachers of the study are aware of a number of explicit rules stated by the provincial government, the board, and the school. Such policies and procedures relate to: time at the school, legal time expectations of teachers for before and after school, line of authority, teachers administering medicine, teacher transfer, and declaring teachers surplus.

Two of the subjects, in particular, showed a high level of understanding regarding legalities and their jobs. Safeb and Margaret, the younger two subjects, were considerably more aware of detailed legal knowledge than the other two subjects. Both of these teachers agreed that the majority of their colleagues are not aware enough of the legal area of public school education. They suggested that, because of this lack of awareness, other teachers are often too timid, accepting unfair expectations unnecessarily. These two subjects tended to cite regulations, in detail, involving teacher role responsibilites: particularly those regarding time on the job, special requests made of teachers which are not normally expected, and general curriculum adherence.

Lux and Sarah both claimed to have a much clearer idea of legal knowledge than they had earlier in their careers. Yet, neither of these two subjects dwelt on legalistic terminology nor cited specific rules of policy or procedure as had Safeb and Margaret. However, they appeared to feel comfortable with general impressions about their own legal well-being, but they did not choose to pursue more detailed legal awareness.

Whether precisely adhering to explicit rules or simply being generally aware of such rules, all subjects agreed that legal awareness is an important factor regarding the confidence they feel in their role negotiations. As they have learned to regard the word of the law as the authority in matters between teachers and others, they have come to use this awareness to their advantage over the years. For this reason they expressed some optimism that, as far as they are concerned, they will continue to adequately cope with role expectations in the future.

Increased awareness of personal conditions. "Personal conditions" refers to the subjects' awareness of their personal life situations, excluding direct involvement of the teaching act itself. While it might be argued that a personal sense of confidence is predetermined by personality type, the data provided evidence to show that perception of the past, as well as perception of current situations, is important to how the subjects feel about their ability to face various future role expectations. For example, all subjects recognized that their home situations had to be in order before they could teach well and enjoy their teaching. Lux and Sarah, for instance, have the support of their husbands. As well, they now have more relieved conditions regarding child-rearing responsibilities than in the past. Safeb's wife remains at home to see to domestic duties that the other teachers have had to deal with. Margaret, feeling the least secure in this area because her family has not yet grown up, still remains somewhat tense over this situation but claims to have things in hand. In all cases, the subjects presently seem to have attained a sense of freedom from anxiety regarding home responsibilites.

Financial security plays a large part in the subjects' feelings of confidence to deal with future role expectations. Safeb, in particular, sees his financial position as being vital to his sense of confidence. His financial independence, he claims, frees him from feeling he must comply with unfair expectations by those in positions of authority. The others are not as fortunate to be free of financial burdens. However, they are not nearly as sensitive to this issue as he is. Sarah and Lux are rather philosophical about finance, suggesting that financial security is always available to those who care to teach well. Therefore, they feel confident and relatively free from the threat of insufficiency. Margaret senses some burden regarding finances. However, her paycheque is a joint contribution along with her husband's. Thus the weight of meeting the financial responsibilities is not hers alone. Further, because of her husband's position, any threat which Margaret felt about the actual security of her job is no longer in question, as it now seems protected.

Finally, future role orientation plays an important part in the subjects' feelings of confidence. All consider their futures to be reasonably bright, with few constraints and uncomfortable ties. This is particularly true of Safeb and Sarah. Safeb anticipates entering the field of politics soon and hopes to retire within the next ten to fifteen years. While he enjoys his teaching, he recognizes the importance of new horizons and has nurtured those horizons for some time. Sarah, on the other hand, intends to stay in teaching and feels she has been equally farsighted in seeing to her own future. She claims she cannot, nor ever could, see herself in another role. The prospects of continuing to work with young children are exciting to her. Lux and Margaret are more reserved about their future role involvement. Yet both report that they are satisfied with future prospects. While Lux feels she would have liked to become involved with a Waldorf school, she suggests she is happy enough, because of her age and other circumstances, to maintain her present position. This is not a sign of complacency. Rather, she points out, it is an acceptance of the realities before her. Margaret's future is less clear. She seems not to have reflected so much on the future, in general. But she is younger than the other subjects. However, she does anticipate another leave situation which will allow her a temporary break from her presently hectic pace. If this leave should come to be, she will return later to the classroom.

The subjects have reported three areas which contribute significantly to their confidence to face possible future role expectations. They are: adequate home support, financial security, and future role possibilities. Generally, the subjects are optimistic about their futures and, they claim, are equally optimistic that they will continue to deal with various role expectations in the future.

Ability to delineate fair role expectations

All four subjects reported having increased awareness regarding rewards available to them through their teaching as well as responsibilities that seemed to be reasonable expectations of them. A discussion of these two areas follows:

Increased awareness of possible role rewards. "Role rewards" refers to the subjects' perspective regarding aspects of what and how much they feel they can realistically expect from their teaching.

All four subjects claimed that they are now more adept at attaining rewards from their teaching than in previous years. This adeptness has involved learning to clearly delineate what rewards are realistically possible and which are not. Delineating their rewards, the subjects suggest, has intensified their interest in some rewards and de-emphasized others.

An important reward that all four subjects spoke of derived from their interaction with students. While it appeared that the intensity of this feeling varied among the four, all subjects agreed that children were enjoyable to work with. One point mentioned by the subjects was that students respected them as knowledgeable people because the students were new to the subject areas being taught. Further, the subjects reported, their students were relatively unthreatening, making life in the classroom relatively comfortable for the subjects. Also, because students are so inexperienced in life, the subjects claim that observing and influencing students offers the subjects some exciting and memorable moments. They all agreed that they have come to see this reward as a more prevalent one than years before.

Further, because of their increased ability to recognize these special moments, the subjects agreed that they are better able to savour them, as well. Lastly, the returns that the subjects of this study hope for are not only for such special moments alone. Such moments are too few and too far between, they reported. Rather, their expectation is that students will strive toward these moments as well. Striving, on the part of students, is one of the greatest possible rewards for the subjects. Thus, when students strive to meet the expectations of the teacher, the teacher's motive to serve the students is reciprocated.

While rewards regarding student interactions have become clarified, this should not imply that these rewards have evolved entirely due to the efforts of the subjects. The abilities and the willingness of students have played a vital role in this clarification, as well. When students did not respond as hoped, the subjects had to look again at their own expectations. Margaret, in particular, remembers having to make drastic alterations to what she considered were rigid expectations. The others agree, as well, that the rewards they see as attainable through their work with children has represented more of a compromise between themselves and their students than merely individually-determined rewards.

None of the four subjects claims money was a primary reason for their teaching. Sarah and Safeb were both extremely forceful in refuting that money to them had any importance at all as far as their teaching was concerned. Sarah explained that this was because she could have pursued another career if she had hoped to get rich. Safeb, equally as adamant, explained that he was independently wealthy. So, for two different reasons, these two subjects feel money plays a minor part regarding prime benefits gained from their teaching.

While none of the teachers emphasized money in their talk, Lux was particularly grateful for her wages. She had never received wages until she was in her early fifties. Sarah expressed the same sense of gratitude. Margaret, Safeb, and Lux have always had their dollars earmarked for spending. Lux, being the main breadwinner of the family, was the only one of the four subjects that seemed to have to teach, or work, for that matter. Nevertheless, all subjects agreed that, while their future paycheques are budgetted for a variety of expenditures, financial remuneration for services rendered has become a less significant reward for them over time. Finally, all subjects felt that they are worth the money paid to them for their teaching efforts.

All subjects agreed that, despite earlier difficulties in meeting home and school responsibilities at the same time, the two roles are actually quite complementary. Given that time has to be treated in a disciplined fashion, the subjects reported that family and community interests can be pursued without a lot of pressure from teaching. All subjects indicated that they are highly active in such activities during evenings and weekends. Earlier in their careers, it has been shown, this was not possible. Further, the subjects agreed that the outlook for future personal development was good: Safeb because of an option to retire early into politics; Sarah and Lux who wish to continue on as they have; and Margaret because of the possibility of a leave of absence and the option to return to teaching.

Interaction with other adults has proven to be, while a rocky road at times, a source of rewards to the subjects as well. For instance, they look to their immediate peers for social and professional interaction. Safeb and Sarah even look to their peers for sympathy and understanding. All four concur that they hope their peers look on them as good, perhaps excellent, teachers who contribute not only to students but to the general well-being of the school. The subjects also look to parents and various administrators to show respect and confidence for the subjects' abilities in various ways befitting their stations. But, as has been shown, such rewards are not possible without making adjustments. Social and professional interaction with peers is rewarding sometimes, but not always. Similarly, face-to-face encounters with parents and administrators can also be rewarding, but only to a point. Therefore, in subtle ways the subjects distance themselves from adult interactors. They do this to protect the rewards available from interactions with other adults without diminishing their appreciation for such interactions.

The subjects have defined the rewards they see as being important to them and as being realistically attainable. They agreed that they are better able to see these rewards than years before. This ability has been gained through adjusting and clarifying their views about such rewards over time. In the examples given it has been suggested that this clarification was made possible by eliminating unattainable goals as well as seeing tell-tale signs that would endanger the attainment of the rewards hoped for. Whether the reward is freedom of time, reciprocated efforts by students, money, prestige, association with others, personal betterment, or general enjoyment, the subjects agreed that each has its price to pay. The payment of this price, they claimed, has also been clarified, making it relatively clear which rewards are worth pursuing and what the chances are of attaining such rewards. Finally, all subjects reported feeling confident that they will continue to attain the rewards they feel are important to them in the future.

Increased awareness of reasonable role responsibilities. Reasonable role responsibilities refers to the subjects' perspectives regarding aspects of what and how much they feel is realistic to put into their teaching.

The subjects feel they have progressed considerably toward more clearly delineating their role responsibilities, subsequent to having experienced conflicting expectations of their role and having increased their awareness about aspects of role expectations, especially regarding possible role rewards and their worth. All four subjects agreed that they have eliminated role vagueness that once plagued them earlier in their careers.

The process by which these teachers have clarified their responsibilities reflects an interaction between two parties and gives evidence that compromise continues to be the major shaping force as far as role expectations are concerned. An example of this is given. All four subjects claim they now have a deeper sense of responsibility in their work with their students than in the past. Time has shown them that they do, indeed, affect the upbringing of their students, and that this influence is not small. For this reason, the effect of their roles is taken more seriously. However, their sense of responsibility has its limits. All subjects have suggested that there is a time when their consciences can be absolved of further responsibility. This absolution is when, after due effort, a student or even the student's parents do not respond to the subjects' efforts. The subjects have seen this problem and, while such occurrences are isolated, they do demonstrate that the subjects will not accept the total responsibility for their students' welfare. The reason is because this responsibility, as they see it, cannot be entirely one-sided. According to the subjects, they can push students and prod them but inevitably a positive response must be returned. For the subjects feel that it is not possible to be responsible totally for another human being. Therefore, all four subjects have come to see this very important aspect of role responsibility as requiring a good effort, but an effort that will go only so far. Without reciprocation, they maintain, further effort is useless and not worth the rewards available.

Similar acts of compromise are observable with the subjects, such as being responsible for putting in enough time but not too much, offering assistance to other teachers but not too much, attending in-service workshops but not too many, and so on. The possibilities are endless. But the responsibilities themselves are not. This is because the subjects seem to have found at the present time a relatively satisfactory position between the expectations of themselves and other role interactors.

Conclusion: A refined disposition toward role expectations

The four subjects feel that they now enjoy, more than ever before, a position of strength and stability regarding role conflict management. The amount of influence they feel they have on their roles is generally to their satisfaction. The subjects spoke of their acceptance of personal, pedagogical, legal, social, and political forces that influence them. But they recognize that they have power to give shape to those forces that influence them, as well. Accepting such a give-and-take principle has brought them also to accepting that harmony and balance are necessary dynamics as far as role expectations are concerned. Without harmony, they feel assured, conflict is more apt to re-emerge once again. Therefore, while the subjects reported learning to represent their own positions as teachers, they also have recognized the importance of remaining flexible toward the expectations of others, in order to maintain and preserve such harmony. Their seemingly tolerant dispositions are a reflection of a refinement about their various role expectations. This refinement is seen in the subjects' continuous concerns, and thus efforts, to formulate satisfactory compromises between the various important expectations which they perceive of themselves.

The subjects feel they were once rather naive about role expectations. But now they feel they have become more realistic. This sense of realism has derived largely from being sensitive to a variety of expectations and having to balance those expectations which do not seem to agree. It also seems to have derived from the fact that the subjects have been left to determine this balance by themselves.

While it is true that the subjects' sense of increased reality is drawn largely from their increased awareness of various role expectations, it does not necessarily follow that they are sensitive to all expectations. As a matter of fact, all subjects reported about a necessity to actually suppress awareness levels in certain areas. They have learned that a pursuit of certain expectations in certain ways can be unproductive. More importantly, in such cases pursuit of certain expectations can bring them pain and unhappiness. Having felt this pain before, they now choose not to pursue those things as ardently as they may have done before. Examples of the subjects suppressing aspects of their sensitivity toward role expectations involve:

1. the subjects setting aside the notion of job promotion, remaining satisfied with their classroom involvement or pursuing aspirations outside of the school entirely, rather than becoming disappointed by rejection;

2. the subjects no longer being as sensitive about territorial intervention by others, accepting that such intervention will occur

again, or at least distancing themselves from others who might intervene in such a way, rather than being hurt by unexpected interventions; and

3. the subjects no longer expecting all students to strive all of the time, rather than being disappointed after having done all they could to plan and present activities to their students.

While the subjects claimed they are successful at suppressing their sensitivity, in some instances, no matter how hard they try, they admitted, negative feelings do arise periodically and are not always easy to eliminate. Further, while their immediate sensations of hurt or disappointment have to be dealt with, they reported that they are, at times, tempted to indulge in certain secondary reactions which can also be unproductive in the long run. Examples of secondary reactions are: self-doubt, guilt, as well as extended worry, anger, brooding or regret.

The first step in dealing with such reactions, the subjects reported, is to accept that these feelings can appear, but then reject them when they do. Thus, like the conditions that set the stage of conflict and the initial reactions that preceded them, these negative reactions also need to be suppressed. These senseless reactions, the subjects agreed, cannot be indulged in without control, as they are unproductive and can actually do considerable harm to the subjects themselves as well as to the mutual appreciation the subjects and their key interactors may already have for each other.

For the most part, the subjects stated, their behaviour toward others must be contained. During instances of felt hurt or anger, the temptations to blame or be cynical toward other interactors are reactions that need to be eliminated or, at least, closely controlled. For the most part, it appears that such reactions are not part of the conflict management repertoire of the four subjects.

Besides suppressing sensitivity toward unproductive expectations and toward unproductive primary and secondary reactions, the subjects tend to try to hold to productive goals, claiming that to have such an orientation provides them with greater success in meeting role expectations in the long run. The types of productive things they talked about were largely future oriented. The subjects spoke about such things as:

1. looking toward further enjoyment in their teaching;
2. feeling that they were serving others well; and
3. looking toward good things to come to them personally, such as new stimulating ideas, new challenges for self-growth, and generally a worthwhile future.

The subjects seem sure that they have the right approach to maintaining a successful course in satisfactorily handling their roles and in meeting the many expectations that continue to be held of them. The future is not free from obstructions, they agreed. But accepting that such is the case seems to add inner strength and surety to the way they see their teaching. Further, the subjects' orientation toward longterm productivity may offer them more than just the satisfaction of those who have survived. Such an orientation seems to provide them with selfenergizing elements that, in the long run, assures them much opportunity for personal fulfillment through their teaching role as well as in their personal lives

The Weighing Mechanism

This discussion acts as a conclusion to the chapter. It is heavily dependent on the previous two discussions which dealt with the recurring cycle of conflict management and the content of that cycle. Attempts are made at this point to describe the weighing mechanism that teachers develop in order to manage the various expectations of their role to their own satisfaction as well as to the perceived satisfaction of other stakeholders.

This weighing mechanism is a result of the subjects' experiences involving conflicting role expectations and the subjects' attempts to manage those conflicting role expectations. While this mechanism is dependent on the concepts of the conflict management cycle, it cannot be described in terms of one single revolution of each of the various conflict cycles experienced by the subjects. Neither can any one stage of any one cycle fully describe the weighing mechanism, although awareness of each stage is important to understanding it. Further, while discussion of the complete repertoire of conflict management strategies also adds to understanding this mechanism, it too is subsumed by the latter. Instead the mechanism should be seen as depending on a collection of learnings which occurred because of all role conflict experiences. Thus understanding the mechanism is dependent on the sum total of all experiences of conflict and the attempts to manage conflicting role expectations.

The sophistication of the weighing mechanism is dependent on the ability of teachers to look back in time, reviewing their experiences which at one time were sparked into the cyclic action mentioned. Data of this study have shown that such past experiences of the conflict management cycle are far from forgotten by the subjects. They are a basis for future action. The mechanism is dependent on the subjects' disposition towards acting in the future. Therefore, it is also dependent on the subjects use of the past to adapt to present and future situations. While memory of the past may alter details of earlier cycles over time, such experiences stand out as the basis of decisions related to the same area. These earlier experiences occurred due to heightened awareness which explains why they remain relatively clear presently. To the subjects these memories are considered to be the basis of an expanded and refined view of reality. This expansion and refinement has occurred at all stages of the conflict management cycle.

The Mechanism at Each Stage of the Conflict Management Cycle

The weighing mechanism which teachers develop is now discussed in terms of each stage of the conflict management cycle.

Awareness of conflicts

The data have indicated that, as the subjects experienced more conflict management, they felt they were able to put conflicts into a satisfactory perspective more easily than earlier in their careers. Experience has taught them what conflicts are probable, which ones are important enough to be concerned about, and which ones are unimportant. In short, the subjects felt they had learned to be sensitive to some conflicts and not others. This selectivity is an example of the weighing mechanism at work during the conflict perception stage of the cycle.

Selecting strategies for action

Another stage at which an expanded and refined view of reality was indicated involved the subjects' decision as to how to deal with perceived conflicts. Several areas are involved at this stage. First, a more precise view of interactors and their relative importance to the teachers' role is seen. Interactors are seen as limited in number. Within this point it is clear that the interactors are seen as having a limited number of expectations. That limit seems to be made clear subsequent to their experiencing the cycle.

The second area involves the subjects' perception of the specific conditions which exist between themselves and their key interactors each time. As the subjects gained experiences, their view became expanded and refined in this area as well. They realized there were a limited number of possible conditions, most of which tend to look the same, or similar, to other conditions from the past. In recognizing this point the subjects became surer that they were able to weight clearly the pros and cons of those conditions of conflict because they could better anticipate them.

Third, a clearer view of possible strategies and the actions the subjects are willing to use is realized over time. At this time they weigh the importance and the extent of their involvement in pursuing a conflict. Thus, their choice of strategies to deal with a limited number of conflicts is drawn from a pool of knowledge and skills which they have learned from the past. This choice, they have found, can be either superimposed over or adapted to meet present role expectation conflicts.

The subjects showed an interesting tendency to choose actions of conflict management between the extremes of complete opposition or total compliance. Rarely did they choose the extremes themselves. In closer analysis it was seen that the subjects tended to use these extremes as parameters to guide their selection of strategies. Further, while the subjects appeared to have more strategies available to them between these extremes, they tended to be very selective about which of these strategies they actually chose to use. The reason appeared to be related, once again, to the point that there are a limited number of important interactors. In realizing this, the subjects could see that only a few strategies were possible if they were to maintain a good rapport with these interactors. Therefore, the worth of the strategies is measured in terms of their effect on the field of support which the subjects feel is so important to them. Often enough the attempt is to find a happy medium between the expectations the subjects consider to be important and the expectations the subjects perceive key interactors believe are important.

Awareness of the results of the action taken

The subjects showed an expanded and refined ability to weigh the worth of the action taken after it had occurred. Whether satisfied or dissatisfied, they showed a maturity in their use of the weighing mechanism at this stage, requiring less external assurance to determine the success of their actions than they had years before. They had developed more of an internal check-scale based on a self-developed set of principles which they had established over the years.

This refined ability to internalize the weighing of the results of the action taken also has implications in a proactive sense. The subjects showed that they had developed an ability to seemingly foresee conflicts before they occurred. They were able to present possible scenarios, and they could play-out these scenarios to the point at which they could see the possibility of conflict or not. In the same way, strategies could be formulated in advance, often enough to eliminate, or at least reduce, conflicts before they occurred.

Altered perspective

After experiencing a number of role conflicts and subsequently going through the cycle, it was shown that perspective changes. This stage, too, is concerned with a weighing action. However, the weighing is no longer conflict oriented, although perspective change had occurred largely because of various kinds of past conflicts. Rather, at this stage the worth of role expectations is considered. As well, this is the stage at which the satisfactory balance between expectations is found.

Perspective itself can be the cause of conflict. After years of development, perspective normally matures and stabilizes, but it will not, nor can it, remain still. Change seems to be part of its nature. As more experience is added, perspective, out of necessity, is altered. It is given further dimension through an accumulation of experiences upon which to base comparisons, adding further clarity to the parameters of role expectations. Given that memory remains clear, this type of change continues and represents further refinement of perspective regarding role expectations. So dormancy, at the perspective stage of the conflict management cycle, does not seem in any way likely. But it, like the other stages of the cycle, is dependent on conflict perception. When conflict is sensed, the cycle is initiated and, again, within each stage of that cycle, the weighing mechanism is also sparked into action. This mechanism is something experienced teachers have learned to use, allowing them to manage the various expectations of their role to their own satisfaction as well as to the perceived satisfaction of other stakeholders.

A Wholistic View of the Mechanism

This discussion presents the weighing mechanism, setting aside the stage previously described. Instead it approaches role conflict management wholistically, as the subjects would do, and represents what seems to be a relatively sophisticated level of perspective development. The result, once again, is a refinement toward role expectation and role conflict management. This time, however, the refinement should be seen more as an informal weighing process which the individual comes to in specifically addressing the reality of conflict, rather than simply as a positional outcome of conflict which was discussed earlier.

Role conflicts seem to appear between real people and the real conditions in which they exist. But for the most part, as the subjects have shown, role conflict seems to be less those things and more an internal struggle. What they perceive as conflicting, how intensely they feel the conflict, and how successfully they deal with the conflict is ultimately handled from within.

The internal turmoil felt appears to be largely a perception of a lack of human satisfactions. A lack of money, a lack of available promotion, a lack of excitement, a lack of time, or a lack of understanding or respect by others; each of these seems the cause of great anguish to individuals. As these satisfactions seem unreachable, one can become worried, frustrated, and distressed. Yet, over time, individuals seem to learn that a constant indulgence in such feelings is usually a state of mind.

At this point a realization can unfold suggesting that individuals are independent of the cause and the seeming effect of their turmoils. If they can see that situations which cause anxiety exist within their own perceptions, then they may conclude that either prolongation or dispensation of this anxiety might also be seen as existing within their own perceptions. Both are independent and outside of the individuals. These difficulties have only been perceived and, as a result of perception, these individuals can realize that they have let the difficulties become real. Yet, over time, as well, individuals come to see that their perceptions and how they internalize those perceptions can become self-destructive by indulging in extreme moods of brooding, sulking, or depression. Regardless of the apparent reality, they begin to recognize that such a destructive tendency cannot continue. The answer, they recognize, is to refute such a negative view of reality, to refute the apparent reality that there is not enough money, promotion, excitement, time, understanding, or respect. With this refutation, individuals can see a necessity to formulate a new reality. Their heightened interest can force them to look for a fuller realization of what is around them so they can refine available realities into what is no longer self-destructive.

Thus the reality is formulated around those things which give them a sense of growth, fruitfulness, and improvement. This new reality is born out of necessity to preserve oneself, to eliminate self-doubt, worry, frustration, and anxiety. While such moods may be inescapable as initial reactions to perceptions of conflicting demands and expectations, they can be dealt with by accepting their destructive potential, attempting to suppress them, and, with any luck, entirely eliminating them. In this way the individuals may recognize their responsibility for their own frame of mind and their inner abilities to control that frame of mind, taking and accepting a fuller responsibility for balancing the various expectations of their teaching role as well.

This concludes the discussion, comparing data from all subjects in the study. The next chapter summarizes details about the overall study.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is presented in four parts. The first part is a summary of the study problem and the method used to investigate the problem. The second part is a summary of the research findings and conclusions. The third part is a brief discussion about the relationship of the findings to earlier research. The fourth part discusses implications of knowing about the findings of the study. Some recommendations are also offered along with the implications.

Summary of the Study Problem and Method of Investigation

It was suggested earlier in this thesis that teachers find it necessary to be sensitive and responsive to the expectations of students as well as of certain other key stakeholders. But expectations of these various parties do not always agree with each other, requiring teachers to pick and choose an appropriate way of responding to those expectations. A review of the literature pointed out that teachers over time seem to develop a relatively sophisticated weighing mechanism which permits them to manage various expectations of their role to their own satisfaction as well as to the perceived satisfaction of other stakeholders. Further review of related literature suggested that this mechanism is related to a conflict management cycle and that such a cycle might assist in explaining the mechanism. The objectives of the study were to trace the mechanism's development, describe its structure and function, and discuss the effect that its development has on teachers.

The best way to address such objectives, it was found, was to meet with four experienced teachers, interviewing them in five separate and relatively lengthy sessions. All interviews were done individually, as it was considered important to allow all subjects to present their perspectives without facing direct influence by other subjects. Because this method was based on retrospective accounts, the interim periods between interviews were kept relatively long, allowing the subjects to better recount memories related to the topic. The interim periods also allowed the researcher to record his interpretations of what the subjects had reported. These interpretations were then offered to the subjects in synopsis form as accuracy checks. In time the synopses were accompanied by more formal profiles and later as case reports. The final case reports were presented in Section 2. All of the above-mentioned interpretations were presented to the subjects for correction or confirmation.

Because each case report was done in collaboration with the researcher, the researcher's part in the findings had to be accepted as part of the study itself. This point may be seen as a limitation to the study. But, as was pointed out in Chapter IV, interpretation makes the researcher undeniably part of the data regardless of the research method used.

The importance of this investigation has been that the findings can offer understanding about the teacher role in light of the pressures teachers must handle. Because a number of stakeholders have interests in the welfare of students, it is possible for them to detract from, rather than add, support to the work that teachers do. Therefore, if it is important for them to have input into the teacher role, they need to understand whether teachers perceive this input as supportive or disruptive. As well, through this study it is possible that teachers can better understand the conditions of role expectations in which they are involved themselves.

Summary of the Conclusions

Following are a number of statements which represent a summary of the conclusions of this study. These statements are arranged under topic headings which appeared in Chapter IV as an adaptation to the study purposes stated in Chapter I. The topic headings were also presented in Chapter IX as a basis for comparing the data from all subjects.

A Conflict Management Cycle

1. The data generally adhere to the conflict management cycle suggested in Chapter III. The cyclic pattern occurs each time the subjects are involved in managing conflicting expectations of their role.

2. The cycle is dynamic. It continues until a satisfactory solution is found. By the same token, it appears that it initiates considerable change within the subjects.

3. While the cause, context, and intensity of perceived conflict vary from time to time and from subject to subject, it appears that it is always conflict that heightens interest and initiates the cyclic action.

How the Subjects Perceive Conflicting Expectations Over Time

1. The cause of conflict seems to initially involve perceived intervention or non-support by others, or self-overload by the subjects. Secondary reactions which contribute to continued conflict often include feelings of abandonment, alienation, as well as prolonged anger, brooding, or guilt.

2. All subjects reported a diminishment of intensities felt about perceived conflicts and secondary reactions over time.

3. There was little to indicate that the overall number of conflicts has decreased, however. Rather, the subjects reported that they are presently active managing various conflicting role expectations.

4. The subjects learned over time that the number of key interactors is limited. Therefore, they concluded, the number of role expectations is limited also.

5. Key interactors included the subjects themselves, their immediate families, students, parents, other teachers, principals, specialists, as well as board and government officials. The subjects did not mention secretarial or custodial staff, nor was there much offered about experiences with student-teachers or interns.

6. The subjects generally agreed that presently their greatest management efforts involve student expectations. Personal expectations also rated highly, particularly for the younger two subjects who still have children at home.

7. The subjects agreed that conflicting expectations have a tendency to recur, or recycle, periodically. Accepting this tendency, they feel, has made them more ready to deal with conflicts than in the past.

How the Subjects Perceive Their Attempts to Manage Conflicting Expectations of Their Roles Over Time

1. The subjects indicated that they have become much clearer about strategies available to them to manage conflicting role expectations than years earlier.

2. The preferred strategy when conflict is foreseeable is to anticipate and thus eliminate the conflict. If the conflict is unforeseeable, the subjects reported preferring to negotiate an acceptable response between appropriate interactors.

3. In general, while the subjects feel they have more strategies available to them than ever before, they tend to be very selective about their choices of these strategies. For instance, they rarely choose the extremes of opposition or compliance. Further, the compromise strategies that they do select are primarily weighed in terms of their ability to foster the support of other interactors.

How the Experiences of Role Conflict Management Have Affected the Subjects

1. The subjects reported that, with the passing of years, they have become more confident that their conflict management actions are adequate and fair. They reported needing progressively less direct reassurance from other people regarding the evaluation of their actions.

2. The subjects reported feeling confident in their abilities to face conflicting role expectations in the future. A large part of this confidence, they reported, is due to the awareness they have gained over the years in the areas of pedagogical, legal, personal, and socio-political knowledge.

3. The subjects reported feeling they are now more realistic about the things they should be expected to do as teachers. This increased sense of what is realistic, they reported, has been due to an increased awareness about role rewards and role responsibilities. This increased awareness, in turn, has been due to past experiences of role conflict and role conflict management.

4. The subjects reported that they have generally become more tolerant toward other role interactors and more self-accepting about themselves over time.

A Weighing Mechanism

1. The data provided evidence of a weighing mechanism which the subjects have learned to use to balance various expectations of their role.

2. The weighing mechanism can be explained in terms of the conflict management cycle. Within each stage of the cycle evidence of weighing role expectations can be seen.

3. The weighing mechanism itself has been built on the successes and failures of the past. While the total of these experiences has grown, the mechanism has become relatively simple in its directive to manage role expectations. The number of conflicting expectations seems limited, as do the strategies to solve them.

The evaluation of these strategies is simply done in terms of their utility to maintain support. Such an evolution towards selectivity and simplicity suggests that the subjects have become rather refined in their views about their roles in general.

4. The above refinement seems largely rooted in the subjects' abilities to internalize the conflict management cycle. They have learned to play-out conflict, often before conflict occurs, weighing the pros and cons of their involvement at each stage of the cycle. At times the subjects may seem outwardly compliant and passive. This appearance can be misleading as the internalizing process is not recognized easily. Further, it does not explain the subjects' longterm interest in maintaining harmony between interactors. Rather than criticize or blame themselves or other interactors, the subjects have taken on a positive and productive orientation toward role expectation, attempting to find longterm assurance that their conflicts will be minimized in the future.

Relationship to Earlier Research

In Chapter II a review of related literature suggested that teachers consider their role in terms of benefits and in terms of interferences with those role benefits. The literature also suggested that, as a result of prolongation of an inability to balance these things in terms of role expectations, teachers will generally tend to express less caring for the work that they do. However, a small body of research literature suggested that a loss of caring is not necessarily what happens to teachers over time.

Such literature implies that teachers may become skilled at protecting themselves, their teaching interests, as well as the interests of other stakeholders.

In further investigating the phenomenon through this study, knowledge has been extended beyond the reviewed research literature. More has been learned about the general perceptual development of teachers. The range of areas which teachers are sensitive about at various stages of their careers has been made clearer. Also, similar information has been presented regarding the types of strategies that teachers choose to select to balance conflicting expectations. Finally, more information is now available about the types of people that teachers become as a result of the work that they do.

Implications and Recommendations

This section is presented in two parts. The first discusses implications and recommendations regarding the content of the study. The second discusses implications and recommendations regarding the method of research.

Content of the Study

The nature of all public positions of relatively high profile is that there are always various expectations from various quarters. Teaching is such a position and requires a certain sensitivity to these various expectations. While role expectations of teachers from various stakeholders often agree, sometimes they disagree. Teachers are left to determine an acceptable balance among such expectations. This is an important aspect of role definition and represents an aspect that can often be uncomfortable for teachers. However, determining this balance is both necessary and inescapable for them.

Not all those who enter the teaching field successfully manage the various expectations of their role, however. The review of related research literature gave evidence that some teachers find the conflicts are too many and that they are ill-equipped to face these conflicts. The result is that such individuals will experience extended emotional stress which will lead them to a loss of appreciation for their position or to leave the field of teaching entirely. The research literature also suggested that inexperienced teachers may be particularly susceptible to job-related pressures which could end in one of the two results just mentioned.

It also appears from this study that teachers who have worked in the field for some time have learned to manage conflicting role expectations adequately well. They are the survivors. They have proven that they are equipped to face the role conflicts that periodically emerge in their lives. But the skills these teachers have learned do not appear to be attempts to desensitize themselves from others. Rather, they reflect sensitivity toward the expectations of others along with a distinct sense of refinement and sophistication which guides them toward managing the role expectations they encounter. Such major conclusions have implications for the field of education and research, leading the researcher to make recommendations to four different groups. They are: teachers, teacher-training institutions, educational administrators, and theory developers.

Recommendations to teachers

1. Teachers should realize and accept that, not only they, but all teachers have to face role-related conflicts throughout their careers. Teachers are in a service oriented field where such conflicts seem to be endemic.

2. Teachers should also know that, while it may be appropriate to try to eliminate role-related conflict, such experiences of conflict can have a positive outcome in the long run. These experiences contribute toward teacher development, adding to the teachers' repertoire to deal with similar conflicts in the future.

3. Teachers might do well to consider what potential conflicts are worth being concerned about. It seems likely, for instance, that conflicts related to domestic expectations and student expectations will be areas which they will primarily need to attend to.

4. Teachers should know that managing role expectations is made easier when they maintain support systems between themselves and other interactors. The main strategy that they will need to develop involves learning to find a satisfactory compromise between their own expectations and the expectations they perceive other key role interactors having of them.

5. As teachers endeavour to find a satisfactory balance of role expectations they would do well to bear in mind that they should consider their own personal development when considering their students. Suppressing self-development in order to allow student growth is not logical. Eliminating the teacher-self from teaching seems to be an act of sterilizing. Instead, teachers

should consider themselves to be growing and developing along with their students. Such an attitude will likely enhance enjoyment and longevity in the field by teachers.

Recommendations to teacher education institutions

1. It may be important for teacher education institutions to emphasize to student-teachers that their chosen career involves much conflict management and, while they may develop some skills of management within that institution, the majority must be experienced and refined individually in the field.

2. Teacher education institutions might do well to encourage self-reflection on the part of their student-teachers. This exercise, in standing back to see the effects of one's efforts, appears to be contributive toward a teacher's ability to manage role expectations skillfully.

3. An important aspect about self-reflection in role is that teachers need to recognize and accept their own teaching strengths and weaknesses. In a sense, they may create their own conflict by such critical self-scrutiny. But such a risk seems necessary to build confidence about one's ability to deal with future role conflicts.

Recommendations to school administrators

1. School administrators are in a unique role position where they have authority over teachers at the same time as they are expected to be a source of support to them. It seems largely because of these two aspects of role that teachers view administrators in a variety of ways ranging between extremes of trusted compatriot and domineering commander. These perceptions seem to be related

largely to an individual's development in the organization and the specific dynamics which exist between the administrator and teacher.

While there is little administrators can do about the initial impressions teachers have of them, administrators can influence teacher perspective in a positive way over time. One important thing administrators might do is to impress on teachers that authority and support are not necessarily juxtaposed concepts and that authority does not necessarily undercut support. An important way educational administrators can show this is through talk itself. With regular dialogue between teachers and administrators the act of disclosure is enhanced. By teachers sharing their hopes and plans with administrators a trust may be initiated if administrators prove worthy of that trust. This they do by providing evidence that they care and can assist teachers. In time teachers will likely not only share their hopes and plans but their concerns and their difficulties as well. This is an extreme trust, to share with one of authority, and it would likely be closely monitored by teachers. To show that authority and support can be complementary instead of opposed means administrators must not betray the trust in any way.

2. Beginning teachers are important to consider separately at this time. Such teachers will experience a number of new expectations with their new role. Because of this, in all likelihood they will experience difficulties dealing with some of these expectations. At the same time, administrators are not necessarily

the ones beginning teachers will first turn to for assistance. As a matter of fact, some beginning teachers, hoping to be seen as competent in their new role, may be hesitant to disclose their difficulties to anyone. For these reasons administrators should look for tell-tale signs of struggles. In observing such struggles administrators might facilitate growth through these difficult times by encouraging a partnership with the beginner and any experienced teacher at the same grade level or a partnership with another inexperienced teacher who may be going through similar difficulties at the same time.

3. Experienced teachers presumably have conflict management strategies more in place than beginning teachers. But they also seem to range in the way they view administrators. It is possible, therefore, that some experienced teachers for various reasons from their past may consider administrators not worthy of their trust. Further, at this point in their careers it appears that they have the ability to shut off administrators in some areas of professional interaction, actually using their conflict management strategies to distance themselves from administrators. In such cases it appears it could be a long uphill climb towards winning the trust and approval of teachers. Once again, the nurturing process is no less important than it is with beginning teachers. However, it may be all the more necessary to display support in a direct fashion with experienced teachers. One example might be to include such teachers in major administrative decisions. By doing this, administrators extend a gesture of professional respect to teachers.

This type of gesture, in time, it is hoped, will be reciprocated.

4. Administrators should not mistake the need to nurture teacher trust as requiring a total relinquishment of authority. Rather, for example, administrators should provide teachers with a clear picture of the appropriateness of authority in terms of general administrative decisions in the school, as well as the more limited areas of administrative authority in areas of the teacher domain which include specifics of student interactions as well as certain interactions with parents. Making clear to teachers the appropriateness of authority and the necessary limits of that authority could be an important first step in assisting administrators to construct a teacher support system in their schools.

Recommendation to theory developers

The theoretical development of the weighing mechanism within the concept of a recurring cycle might offer a different and perhaps enlightening perspective to others studying related areas. Such related areas might benefit particularly from the notion that individuals regularly consider pertinent memories and, using these memories, weigh the consequences of their actions, attempting to foresee and shape their future conditions. In other words, all human beings use this weighing mechanism, trying to rationally effect harmony in their lives.

1. As this has been an explorative study, conflict management theory might find a clearer definition of the limits of perceived conflict by looking at how individuals weigh the worth of conflicts.

What expectations conflict as far as individuals are concerned? What are acceptable conflicts? What are unacceptable conflicts? As well, clearer parameters could be defined regarding the strategies individuals choose to use to manage conflicting expectations. What strategies are acceptable as far as individuals are concerned? What strategies are unacceptable?

2. Using the notion of a weighing mechanism, role management theory might be extended by pursuing greater understanding about the dynamics that occur between individuals. Of particular importance might be focusing on individuals as they weigh the worth of their own involvement with others, interactively defining acceptable and unacceptable role behavior. What role behavior is acceptable to individuals? What behavior is unacceptable? How much are these behaviors worth to individuals?

3. Using the notion of a weighing mechanism, organizational theory might find a clearer explanation of dynamics which exist between subgroups in an organization. Power is one concept involving dynamics between subgroups that might be worth investigating. It might be considered by studying how individuals within subgroups weigh the worth of various powers of influence. How do the members of subgroups perceive various power sources? How do they perceive their own power sources? How do they perceive the power sources of others? What are the effects of subgroup awareness of power influences on organizational health?

4. Using the notion of a weighing mechanism, change theory might also make gains. This seems to be important in the area of planned change when applied to assessing needs and to measuring the limits of acceptable change. Do individuals recognize the need for change? What do individuals see as acceptable change? What do individuals see as unacceptable change? What change should be initiated by individuals? Should certain types of change be initiated by individuals occupying certain roles?

Method of Research

The collaborative method of research used for this study has presented the researcher with a number of advantages and some disadvantages. These points will now be addressed in terms of implications and recommendations. First, this method of research can be used as a tool to build trust between the subjects and researcher. It is a method in which the subjects recognize that they have an equal status with the researcher. Role barriers are largely eliminated, with the result being that the researcher and subjects can speak at the same level. The following excerpt from an interview with Safeb expresses this view.

> That goes into a part that I consider important in education, and that's communicating, and not just saying the things that people want you to say, but being able to say the things that are in here, in your heart. Because all the time we get to be diplomats. You say, "Well, he asked me that. I should tell him this. No, I might hurt his feelings. What I think he meant is --." And you answer. You know, you don't talk at the same level. What you do is you go either up or down and you miss each other. And I think that doing something like this study, I think we're at the same wave length. We could communicate. In other words, we were meeting head-on, exchanging ideas. And that's what I think, not just teachers, but people in life generally should be trying to do, to be able to handle their problems and in everyday living.

Thus pursuing the study of human perspective seems enhanced through such an approach. Trust has been built because the subjects' opinions have been valued, not debated. This should be a starting point for those endeavouring to undertake such research.

This method of research can be used to assist subjects to focus their attentions on their role conflicts and the strategies they have learned to use. But such heightened awareness is not the only effect. Talk itself can bring relief to the subjects. By the same token, subjects seem to enjoy talking about themselves. The talk centers around their views and their memories. Being able to expound about themselves to another adult was seen by the subjects as a luxury and one which they readily indulged in. Margaret's following comment bears this out.

> It was interesting talking about the conflicts and the sorting out of one's life. And I've never found that talking makes me anxious. I think it helps usually to talk about things. I like talking.

While relief and enjoyment were considered by the subjects to be effects of participating in the study, these feelings were not always immediate. Some discomfort often accompanied the retrospection required of the subjects. For instance, in the following example Lux speaks of a painful memory which, she feels, had affected her for a number of years. Real longterm relief from anxiety, she reports, was made possible through uncovering this memory.

> This memory is very painful. It has been pushed into the background. Yet how many ways had that affected me and my choices? All this time I have made no connection to it. But it had. So I think that we often do exactly that; suppress bad memories. But these become blockages to our personal development. I think all the things that we've

> been burying for years and years will, at some point, have to surface so that we can consciously deal with them and eliminate them. I think, up to a certain point, all we do is sweep them under the carpet and hope they won't bother us.

The research method helps to identify and clarify certain points for the subjects. An excerpt from an interview with Margaret is used to support this claim. She speaks about rewards from working with children, a point that had not been part of the conversation until the third interview.

> Maybe the rewards come more from the children themselves, seeing the enlightenment on their faces or when the penny finally drops and they realize that they really can read. Or, that they can do what you've been asking them to do. The rewards are from the children rather than from the other adults in the profession. Maybe it's just satisfaction with yourself, knowing that you've done a good job. But I think if the kids are learning and happy and don't groan every time you suggest doing something --.

The research method helps to confirm certain notions and raise appreciation for this confirmation for the subjects. Sarah points out that this is done by having to articulate her thoughts.

> You think you know basically how you feel about things. But when you have to put them into words you really have to be very sure of yourself. I think it's a good piece of research and I'd like to see it when it's all completed.

A short statement from Sarah, once again, shows that the method of research not only allows confirmation of perspective but promotes change by introducing new ideas.

> It's firmed up things in my mind. Some things I've never even thought about.

Thus the research method used in this study has been instrumental in changing the subjects. It has offered relief from conflict. Therefore, while it has helped to focus attention on the subjects' conflict management strategies, it has become a strategy in itself. The research method has also helped to clarify, confirm, and even alter the subjects' perspectives.

A criticism of the research method might be that it has spoiled the data, changing the subjects so they are unrecognizable. But to reiterate from Chapter IV, the researcher cannot become extracted from the research nor can a study involving direct input by the subjects eliminate the possibility of changing the subjects. Assuming that these points are true,then, brings the researcher to accept his involvement and the involvement of the study with the thinking of the subjects. The researcher concludes that if any hope of knowing about people's thoughts exist, the best way is to ask them, giving them the opportunity to ponder their situations, assisting them when necessary with questions and other conversational catalysts. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the study does speed subjects along in the direction in which they are already going. Such an effect needs to be noted in this and future research studies.

From the above discussion it follows that the research method has much to offer the field of education as a change agent. The collaboration approach encourages input along what can normally be a rigid hierarchial structure. While both trust and thoughtful dialogue take time to foster, the outcomes can be extremely productive, eliminating waste of money and manpower due to lack of teacher involvement and commitment. For educational administrators, areas where direct collaboration with teachers could prove useful include: needs assessments, defining job descriptions, professional development, curriculum development and implementation, and even staffing. The educational researcher can be assured that, through this method of research, the subjects' responses are seriously considered and answered allowing him to better represent the subjects' views than through more superficial means such as surveys. As well, this particular study leaves a number of vignettes which stand ready to be tried for their own ability to promote dialogue with teachers. They could provide the stimulus necessary to add further clarity to the information offered in this study.

Another criticism of the research method could involve sampling. Taking those who are willing and available as subjects does pose the problem of selecting four individuals who are a particular type of person. However, it should be pointed out that the study does not purport to represent the over-all teaching population. The four subjects are teachers. They have survived a number of years working in the field. In a sense, they could be seen as representing experienced teachers. Nevertheless, proof of representation of the field has not been a primary claim of this study. Therefore, a recommendation might be made to extend this study to test the reliability of the parameters established herein. This might be done by including more or different subjects. Studies involving other subjects might involve novice teachers, teachers who quit the field, unmarried teachers, teachers without children, secondary school teachers, separate school teachers, private school teachers, students, parents, or administrators. A follow-up study of the original four subjects themselves might prove useful. Using another researcher at another time might also offer further information about either role expectations or any of a number of topics possible to address through a study of perspectives. Further, while the topic of this study has been relatively broad, due to its exploratory nature, it might prove useful now to provide more specific focus to the phenomenon in question. For instance, a more precise description of the types of conflicts that teachers experience at specific stages of their careers might be undertaken. As well, a similar study about the strategies used at various stages might prove interesting and useful.

A fair criticism that can be made of the collaborative research method is that it is a lengthy process. It calls for a time commitment on the part of all those involved. Further, because of the exploratory nature of this type of study, there is no blueprint to guide the researcher. In order to remain faithful to both focusing and freeing interviews (described in Chapter IV), there is no clear beginning point to the study. Even questions cannot be reliably formulated in advance of the interviews. By the same token, there is no clear end point to the study. No final conclusion seems to emerge as far as the subjects are concerned. The subjects, as they are reported, already exist in the past, as they continue to experience life and change. Therefore, no one person is represented by the information in such a study. Researchers endeavouring to undertake this type of research should be aware of some of these difficulties and frustrations which they will face and they should be willing to invest the time and effort necessary to undertake such a work.

While this research method is indeed long and complex, it is not without its own rewards to the researcher. Like the subjects, the researcher has the opportunity for growth through his involvement in the research process. His knowledge and skills in interviewing teachers and interpreting their views has been extended as a researcher. By discussing problems with experienced teachers he has learned a great deal about himself as a teacher. As well, the research experience has added a new dimension to the researcher's role as an educational administrator, assisting him to recognize when and under what circumstances direct collaboration with teachers is useful and necessary.

Finally, this study is not closed as far as the researcher is concerned. Through conversations, personal observations, and readings the phenomenon where teachers weigh and balance role expectations reappears in his life daily. Therefore, the study itself continues on in the mind of the researcher, offering him further opportunity to confirm and alter his own view of the phenomenon's reality.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: RECRUITMENT LETTERS AND INFORMATION SHEET

Sample Letter to Principals

The purpose of this letter is to locate a senior classroom teacher who will consent to participate in a research study.

The study I am hoping to conduct requires a teacher of approximately fifteen to twenty years experience. His/her involvement would primarily consist of five one-hour interviews. The topic of the study deals with a phenomenon which I call "teacher selective response". By this I mean that I believe teachers devise a screening technique over the years which they use to determine what role expectations they will or will not deal with. Senior teachers are particularly rich in what they can offer this topic. I anticipate the findings of such a study will offer much in terms of a better understanding of role expectations and role conflict to those of us who hope to support teachers and the work they do with children.

Because this study is exploratory I have no parameters to guide the selection of my subject. Thus I am free to draw on any senior teacher who would be willing to participate. Do you know of teachers who would be interested? If so, I would appreciate their names and I will contact them to pursue the possibility of their involvement.

As a teacher with ten years experience myself, I am well aware of the busy schedule which all teachers must keep. The additional pressure of participating in a research study is something they may not want. However, in reviewing studies using such a collaborative interview technique as I propose, all subjects reported their extreme satisfaction with having participated. From this I sincerely feel that the person you nominate, should he/she choose to take part, will find this a most rewarding experience.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely

Neil W. Garvie

Sample Letter to Teachers

The purpose of this letter is to locate a senior classroom teacher who will consent to participate in a research study.

The study I am hoping to conduct requires a teacher of approximately fifteen to twenty years experience. His/her involvement would primarily consist of five one-hour interviews. The topic of the study deals with a phenomenon which I call "teacher selective response". By this I mean that I believe teachers devise a screening technique over the years which they use to determine what role expectations they will or will not deal with. Senior teachers are particularly rich in what they can offer this topic. I anticipate the findings of such a study will offer much in terms of a better understanding of role expectations and role conflict to those of us who hope to support teachers and the work they do with children.

As a teacher with ten years experience myself, I am well aware of the busy schedule which all teachers must keep. The additional pressure of participating in a research study is something you may not want. However, in reviewing studies using such a collaborative interview technique as I propose, all subjects reported their extreme satisfaction with having participated. From this I sincerely feel that should you choose to take part, you will find this a most rewarding experience.

Thank you for reading this letter. I do hope the study interests you and that you will consider participating in it.

Yours sincerely

Neil W. Garvie

Letter to Teacher Regarding Profile Sheet

November 12th, 1982

Dear _______________:

I have enclosed a profile sheet. Would you be kind enough to fill it in and give it to me when we next meet. It will provide some context to the perspective I am hoping will emerge in this study.

I'm very much looking forward to our first session and will contact you in a week or two to arrange a meeting time.

Best regards

Neil W. Garvie

NWG/cvg
enclosure 1

PROFILE SHEET

1. Name:____________________ 2. Phone Number:__________

3. Age:____________________ 4. Chosen Pseudonym:__________

5. School:____________________ 6. Phone Number:__________

7. Grade Level:____________________ 8. Years Teaching Experience:____

9. Grades, Subjects previously taught:____________________

10. Teacher Training: (where, when, etc.)____________________

11. Is there anything else about you which would be helpful in initiating the construction of your profile?____________________

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW CATALYSTS

22/10/83

My Introduction to Teacher Selective Response

I began my formal teaching career with a public board of education. It was 1972. And, there I was, already with what seemed like a lifetime of experiences with children (having been a Y.M.C.A. counselor and director as well as a sports and recreation promoter for ten years prior to this). I felt well-prepared. I had a degree under each arm and and "right" attitude for teaching (so I had been told by my university instructors). I saw my role of teacher as being a promoter and a leader. I saw myself promoting a way of life; a picture of the good life ... physically sound, emotionally vibrant and intellectually active. In this I hoped to serve my students best by example. I was one whose personal and professional life would hold no duality.

I would lead my students to challenging, satisfying, happy school experiences. I would expect them in return, to be mindful, thoughtful, and respectful. But, in retrospect, I realize I wanted more. I wanted to be admired. As a teacher I had hoped to be seen by adults as well as students as the epitome of a complete person. I particularly wanted to be recognized as a conscientious, industrious, skilled, and technically knowledgeable. Further, I hoped to be seen as a valuable contributor to the school community and, perhaps deep down, might even be considered as indispensable.

I hoped to run my own "show". I expected to discuss with others broad educational issues but wanted more than anything to be the last word on the pedagogical act. This job of teaching was my job, my specialty. My autonomy would not be compromised.

Along with these aspired-for things there were the extrinsic rewards as well. My monthly paycheque seemed quite attractive. The amount was substantial compared to anything received to that point. And probably because both my parents had been teachers I quite naturally took well to receiving a governmental wage; seeing it as a security to my livelihood.

I was very aware of the hierarchical executive chain in education. I think I had always seen my life and career as a series of steps. I was a classic example of the young upward mobile "executive". Teaching would not be my only work and I fully expected to receive my just rewards for faithful toil in the field along this chain of command. Of course, I further expected increased respect, influence, and autonomy as this occurred.

Over the years as I worked long, hard and hopeful hours I endeavored to understand each area of teaching and management that seemed to contribute to the whole of this human "machine". I wanted to understand it and, I suppose, I wanted to add to the notion of my indispensibility by being one of a few to really know the full system. This yearning to know and to gratify myself led me into attempting to teach all subject areas, all grade levels, and later outside the classroom to professional development and school administration.

As time went on I was indeed given chances to increase my influence ... perhaps extending my autonomy. This was particularly so in the area of movement education. I was becoming known as one of the few people in the system who could provide other teachers with "real help" in their work implementing a provincially mandated physical education curriculum.

The Department of Education, in reacting to this edict, called on me to do some curriculum writing and to later provide in-service help specific to this document. For myself this period of time was both exhilarating and puzzling. The exhilaration was due to my being thrust into a whole new realm of experiences at a different level of education. But at the same time, regardless of my preparation for doing workshops, I often encountered teachers who were less than enthusiastic about my ideas. I detected through these experiences that the well-intended support sent out to them was not always considered supportive at all. At times it was seen by some as nothing less than interfering. To others it was just another "downtown idea that would soon pass". And, thankfully for my ego's sake others still accepted my advice enthusiastically.

I emerged, subsequently, from this experience asking questions like: Why did some teachers react so negatively at my very presence? Why did some seem passive, almost apathetic? Why did some seem to take to my ideas like ducks to water? What effect did I have on their professional lives? And, I had to then grudgingly ask the question: Would they have done just as well without my "help"?

In time I returned to a school situation as a part-time classroom teacher and vice-principal. It was during this period that I again saw this phenomenon of attempted influence on teachers' lives. This time it was as both instigator and recipient.

My new role allowed for a fuller scope of educational experience; albeit in one school this time. As I was unclear on the broad picture of school activity, and thought the principal and teachers' to be as well, I saw before me the chance to promote this type of understanding. This took the form of my requesting teachers to write-up their personal curriculum outline for the year. I felt it important that we all had a basic understanding of what other teachers were doing with their students. However, I was saddened to find that once again I had erred. The reaction ranged from passivity to out-and-out hostility. Instead of doing a service I was interfering. It seemed I had again been presumptuous about teachers' thinking and the way they saw their work at school.

But while I was busy "operating on" teachers I found I was becoming the target of change and influence myself. For instance, the

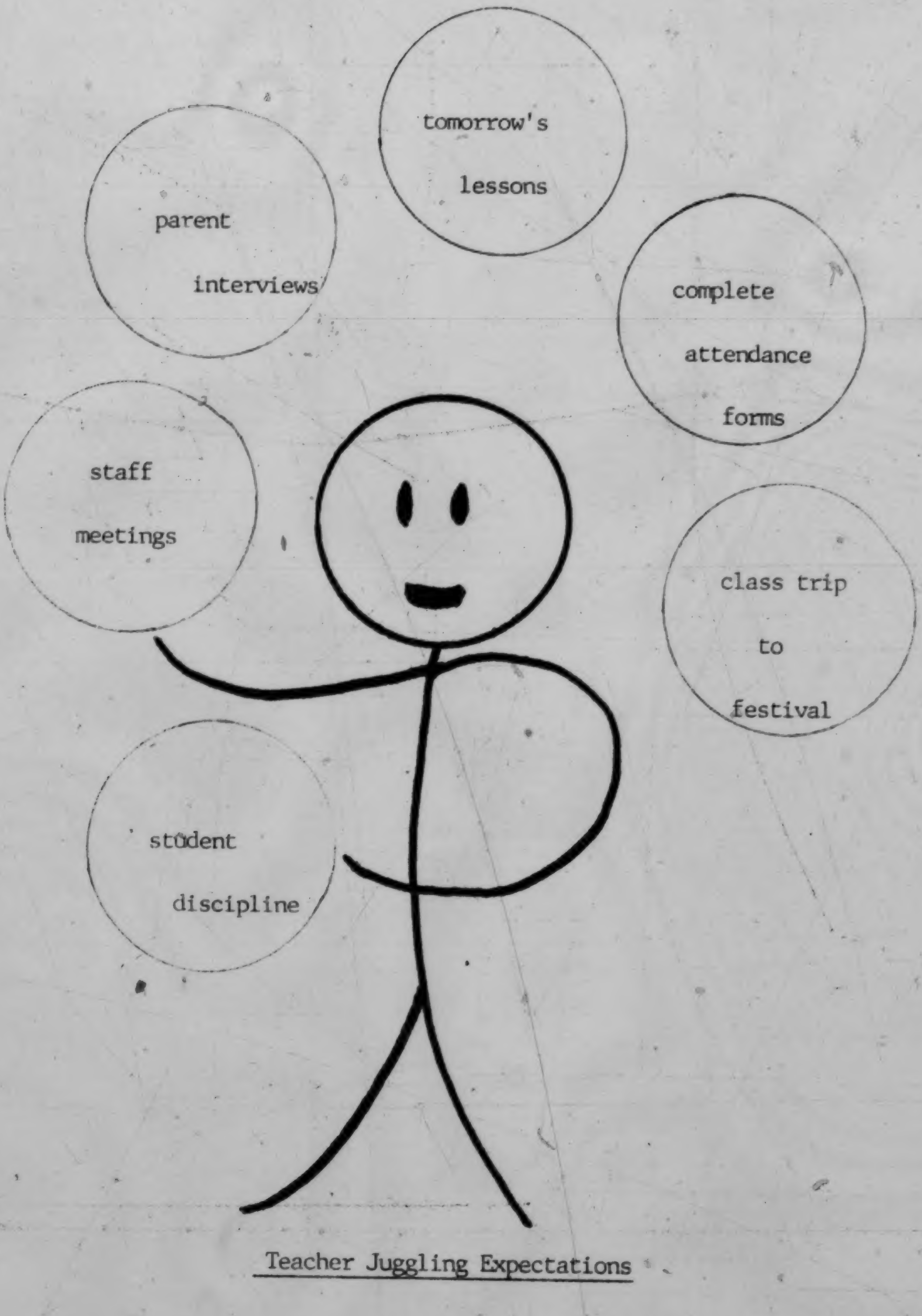
Professional Development Department was continuously drawing teachers (myself included), out of school to take various work shops. Secondly, the Superintendent's office continuously inundated us with suggested themes for school activities (e.g., Remembrance Day, UNICEF, Thanksgiving, Education Week, Fire Safety Week, etc.) and publicly congratulating those who instigated "outstanding" progrmas conforming to these. A third example of attempted influence on the lives of teachers were curriculum committees and outside organizations who saturated us with the latest techniques for handling "their" topic. These often appeared to be in competition with each other, vying for our attention.

And so I was beginning to see these presumably well-meant services as a comment on my teaching ability. To me they operated irrespective of what my colleagues and myself were currently doing with children at our own school. They seemed to insinuate, although being quite ignorant of us, that our knowledge was deficient and replaceable.

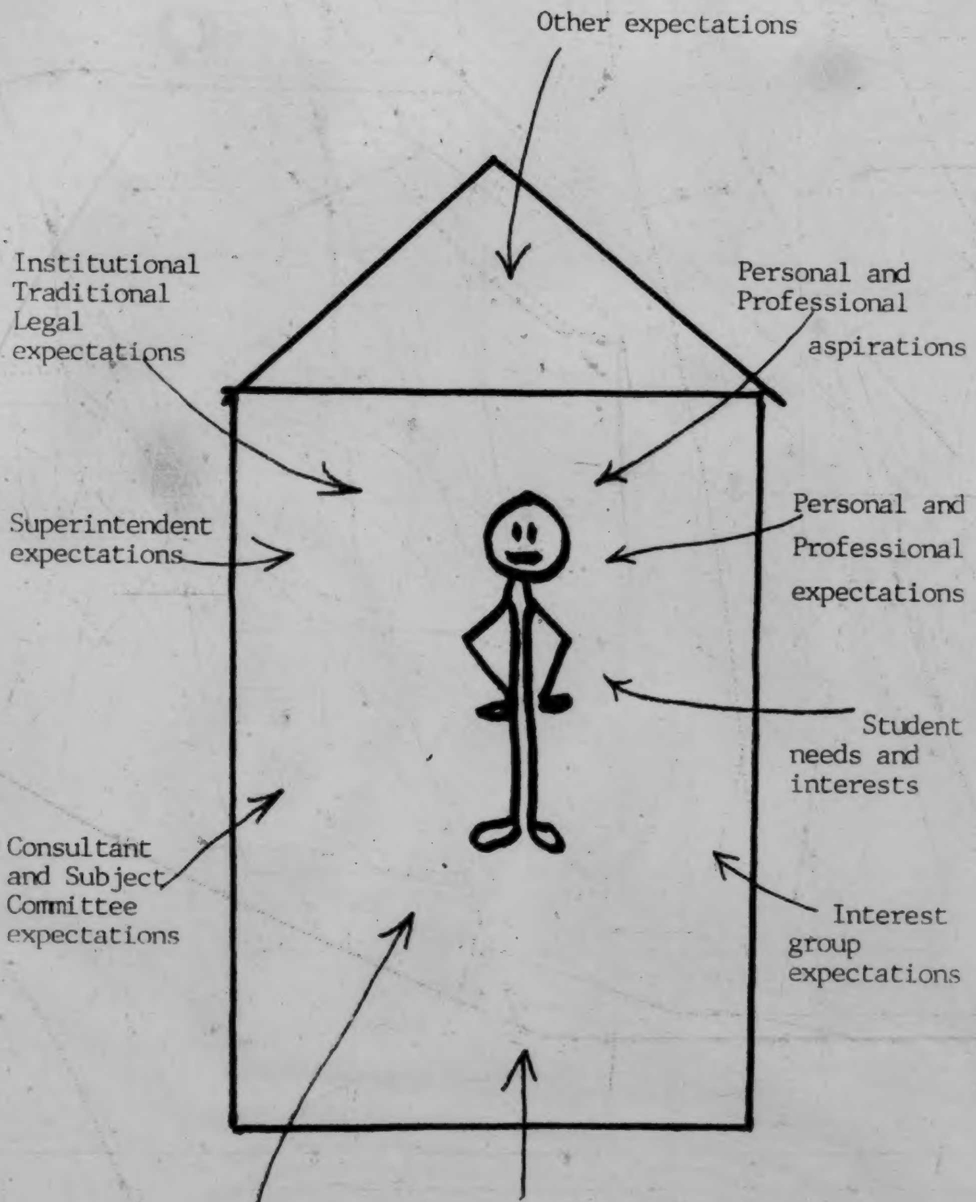
I was becoming hypersensitive about anything that I might construe as infringing on my rights to define my role as a teacher. My first responsibility I felt was to work with children and communicate with parents and ironically influences like the one stated above were deterring rather than supporting me in this.

My necessary reaction, it seemed, in order to preserve some sense of professional autonomy and self integrity, was to protect myself from some of these influences. Subsequently, I was becoming an idea "screener". Regardless of the worth of suggestions for change I usually opposed them. They were an overload to my system. I was becoming more and more of a recluse. Within my school I would work co-operatively and openly with students, teachers and parents alike. But, beyond the school community my doors were slowly drawing closed.

I was seeing before me too much change, too much diversity of view by interest groups, and too little self choice in regards to what was becoming a growing awareness on my part about the various influences on me as a teacher. I had become convinced that I was a very small unimportant cog in a huge unintelligible wheel. And, although my role was not precisely the same as other teachers I could sense there were some others who felt as I did. I had to wonder about them. To me teaching had become a burden and I was spending much time protecting myself from its weight. Did I have company in this? Further, I had to wonder about those who existed merrily along, showing no outward turmoil about this phenomenon. Why did they seem to exist in apparent harmony with their feelings about themselves and their role with children? Why did there seem to be such a broad realm of sensitivities?


tomorrow's lessons
parent interviews
complete attendance forms
staff meetings
class trip to festival
student discipline

Teacher Juggling Expectations


Other expectations
Institutional
Traditional
Legal
expectations
Personal and
Professional
aspirations
Superintendent
expectations
Personal and
Professional
expectations
Student
needs and
interests
Consultant
and Subject
Committee
expectations
Interest
group
expectations
Peer
expectations
Parent
expectations

Expectations of Teacher Role as Perceived by the Teacher in Role

18/1/83

A Sketch of Two Teachers

Tony

Tony is 34 years of age and teaches grade 4 at Hokum Pokum Elementary School. Tony derives a good amount of satisfaction from his teaching job. And, over the years, has developed a good amount of teaching expertise along with a rather impressive file of lesson plans in each major subject area. Tony is well-organized and is able to get alot of planning done for the next day during work sessions where the students work on individualized programs and where each has a set of worksheets that he/she needs to complete before moving on to the next unit. Tony is also a very busy individual outside of teaching. He enjoys playing for a local softball team three times per week and he and his family are active together with such activities as boating, skiing, Y.M.C.A. work, track and field and church. Because of this it has become important for Tony to hold himself to a fairly precise timeline at work. He prefers to leave school promptly at 3:45 p.m. in order to meet a variety of other commitments (recreation or otherwise).

Tony works hard as a teacher and feels it is his right and a necessity to commit himself strictly to what teachers can do best with children which is to teach basic skills. Additional experiences as well as additional help, should the child have problems, lie with others (consultants, parents, etc). Being aware of resource help in the community and with the local board Tony is prompt to refer students for appropriate help.

Don

Don is 40 years of age and a teacher of grade 3 at Piddily Okum Elementary School. Don derives a good amount of satisfaction from his teaching job. And, over the years, he has come to believe that teaching is an interactive task that is always changing. Therefore, upon having taught a certain unit and/or subject to his students the course becomes outdated and upon trying to reteach it again he finds he must totally reorganize and replan the content because of various differences in the situation and in the students each time. Because of this, Don is forever signing up for in-service sessions at the local teacher centre, collecting new resources at the school board offices and talking endlessly at home with his wife about his next day's activities etc. Because of his view of teaching Don doesn't have much free time for himself and his family. In order to facilitate his continuously unfolding curriculum Don is often organizing field trips, arranging for parent helpers and aides, driving kids to special activities, visiting homes in order to better understand his students and so on. Don takes a great deal of pride in being a generalist teacher. Because of this he teaches all subject areas. Further, when a student experiences difficulty with reading, printing, speaking, behavior, etc. he chooses to spend additional time with them and rarely refers them onto others.

26/11/82

APPENDIX 3: SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH SARAH (excerpt P.P. 1-10)

26/11/82

1. Interviewer: Ok. You'd like me to: quickly: clue you in again uh.

2. Sarah: Right. Revamp. Or re// re whatever the word is.'

3. I. Ok. We'll re: do it (laughing)

4. S. Re// re// re...

5. I. Fridays (laughing) re//re

6. S. Oh yes: Fridays

7. I. Ok. Uh first of all just want to say that I have not got a letter to Mrs. White (principal) that I can recall. So it just a // I have a little form letter to: let her know what we're doing.

8. S. You haven't?

9. I. I don't think I've given one to her. Although I've talked to her. Of this I will.

10. S. Ok. Uh huh.

11. I. Uh ahem Secondly. The uh Mr.// Dr. Blower has: the information about us: doing this. Dr. Blower is in charge of these such and development downtown with the Public Board of Education and so ...

12. S. Alright. Alright. Ok. Uh huh.

13. I. That's that's being looked after. Thirdly, did you get my: most recent letter with this form? (referring to the profile sheet)

14. S. No

15. I. Oh shucks. Well itss// being held up somewhere. I sent it about a week ago.

16. S. Really. No.

17. I. And its just an information uh gathering sheet Asking//One important question uh on this sheet is uh "What pseudonym would you like to have?" Because when it comes to my writing this up: uh rather than Your name// which won't even appear on the tape ...

18. S. Uh huh. Ok.

19. I. So uh// Well its not important right now I'll uh I'll leave it that. It might it might be kind of fun to think of something that is particularly meaningful to you. So ok ...

20. S. (laughing)

21. I. Uh and I can also leave: this with you (referring to another copy of the profile sheet) just in case that's held up. Now if I could Briefly: review? This research Attempts: on one hand to recapture situations; and examples; from the past. And describing your view: Your perspective of things; in the present (4) I am Most interested in trying to gather together enough information to construct Your perspective// Your view. Alot of research, oddly enough up until now, tends to: come at it from the other way around. Take a look at teachers: and write it up. Maybe talk Briefly: to teachers and write it up. Uh Maybe send a questionaire// uh some kind of a form to get a Bit of a view of what teachers might want to do, or PRefer doing, or how they think about their school work, or whatever. Its all somewhat superficial. And: its My view that this research style: can be extremely: informative. But: ahem I have to accept that I am going to become part of: the uh the research by sitting here and and even just listening because I'll be doing// the writing-up of it. And that you, as a human being// as we All: talk we change. Uh There's no point in time that will be the last: word on our position// or our perspective. So that together over four or five interviews: the theory is that we will merge in understanding your view: a little bit more.

22. S. Ok. (knock at door). That's alright (as someone apologies for intruding)

23. I. The reason for you in particular, I had mentioned uh there is a point of uh being a senior teacher.

24. S. Uh huh.

25. I. Because you will have had experience ...

26. S. Thank you for not saying senior citizen.

27. I. Oh: (laughs)

28. S. Yes

29. I. Um. But its my view that you: have had more experience and that you are: willing and able to disclose it. Because of your position you// you're// I said last time I'm not really looking for a SUCCESSFUL teacher. But uh that's not entirely : true. Successful in the sense that you feel: successful. I think that's obvious from what I see around here. (referring to highly sophisticated classroom with learning centres etc.) But that you: are secure.

30. S. Uh huh.

31. I. And that you are willing to join with me and look back with me. Also looking today at ...

32. S. In other words not (ahem) you're not trying to FABricate something to try to make it look good.

33. I. Ya.

34. S. There's no point in that.

35. I. Ok. That's what I'm after. Ok. And that's that. Ahem. I'll have the yellow pack in front of me ...

36. S. Ya.

37. I. Just every once in awhile to kind of: jot down an idea or two that you've been talking about that we might return to. Do you remember the bunch of stuff that I gave you a long time ago (laughing because of her expression that she has forgotten to review the written material that was given her).

38. S. If I'd// if had known it was today and I would have sat down at lunch and looked it over. I thought it was next week. And I thought "Well I've got another week to kind of go through this again". (laughing) So I haven't. So maybe you'd better recap. That's the word we wanted. Recap.

39. I. Recap. Ok. Well uh// because we did go through this a little bit before it uh// ...

40. S. Ya. Just clue me in.

41. I. Ok. Well there are two things in here (referring to extra copies of material originally discussed during the original meeting) that are very important, I think. This letter we can put aside because: uh it

stands for itself. One: I have a an introduction: to teacher selective response: which was My story: To act as a bit of a CATalyst: to get you thinking about this phenomenon. Because everything that I describe isn't necessarily going to jive with your experience. But I think the phenomenon: I call "selective response": will be :: And this model I think is important.

42. S. Oh right.

43. I. If you like. And if this kind of gets: some things going for you maybe put that one aside (referring to account of my experiences) uh at first and just address this.

44. S. Ok (As she puruses my personal account)

45. I. Or or would you like to take a few comments just to kind of: snap through that? Which would be fine.

46. S. I think I can : remember read th ... (reviews one personal account((22) Hmmm. This is: the paragraph that stuck with me. (Referring to my account of trying to help others and how some teachers rejected my ideas and others took to them "like ducks to water"). Very Um::: That's a:: That's a loaded paragraph. Agh: I don't know whether its:: Ok:

47. I. Why;; why was that uh// loaded?

48. S. Well because so: true to so many uh what we// we have term in this system what we call MASter teachers. Ok. And there's a core of us. And I// I'm just going to speak very Honestly with you. Ok?

49. I. Uh huh. Please

50. S. Obviously we're coming at this thing very much from the same point of view. There's a a // I don't know how many there would be. Let's say there'd be: 15 I guess. And we are we are a group that um: first of all believe in what we are doing, know what we are doing is the right: approach to education, and: are willing to share with// what we have with others// that's why I was willing to share: with you. Because: that's part of our philosophy to//

to its almost like a GOSpel. That if we can: allow more people to see: that there is// that there is nothing to fear in// in our // in the way we are with children. That we can we can get more Followers: to this: core.

51. I. Uh huh. This group is not a formal group?

52. S. No:: Its kind of an under: cover group that// that's been selected to work just// I mean its our OWN// We we approached and its our OWN// Its whatever we can do: to instill in other teachers or other educators or other par// parents, Any body that's interested in education, if we can// if we can INfluence them. Ok And we're just in the infancy of our// of our: being. So at this point in time what we're doing is we're encouraging teachers from other schools to come into our classroom: and to watch us teach, to be with our kids. Um We are// we are offering our services in the way pf speaking at any any places and wants: anybody to talk on: children. And we're all very just: ordinary people. But we do have one thing in common: and that's our education, and to the VALUE that uh// what we're doing is worthwhile and RIGHT. And so: um:: this is ...

53. I. Can you tell me uh// ok are you reaching? Does it (referring to account of my experiences) seem like a NAIVE statement for instance?

54. S. Ah. This// well this is// this// No, No. It seems like a: very// its very// it gets you right// Because: this is this is the way it happens with with Exceptional people. EXCEPtional people I Think: its my own point of view again. I think exceptional people: are a threat to alot of people who are Not exceptional. Who haven't: reach an exceptional level. They// They// I'm not saying couldn't be but they haven't BEcome: that. So if you are exceptional in anything you're a threat. Right? And education is no different. If you are an exceptional teacher you're such a threat. You're a threat even to parents sometimes: Because you are// they're losing their their um status maybe with the kids. Ok? So: this "Why did teachers react so negatively at my very presence" OBviously it was the threat, the fear, the insecurity of their own// not so much of their job but of their own: of their own uh philosophy:: Do// do you see what I'm saying?

55. I. I sure do. That's a new one. That's totally uh well ...

56. S. This is my idea: I've found with student teachers it// its amazing. If you get a good student teacher in your room and its a mediocre teacher// and you've got an exceptional student teacher. I don't think if you'd do any research on it I bet// baring// I bet there: isn't an exception to this. That that student teacher would Not get an exceptional student teacher report. Because exceptionality is only seen: by exceptional people. Do you see?

57. I. Uh huh.

58. S. So that the// the mediocre teacher that gets an exceptional student teacher: is threatened. Right now: they're threatened. And they// in order to handle it// Again this is all my own idea. This// they might not be: true. But: this is the way I feel. In order to handle that: they cannot say that this: gifted person, this gifted teenager, this gifted child almost in some cases has More than what they have. They've been teaching for 10 years, 12 years, 5 years, whatever years. If they were an exceptional teacher they would just gobble that// they would just // they would just: Suck that person in: and say "give me more. Give me more. I want more of what you've got. And here's some of what Ive got!" So you see the share// its just like a magnet. Exceptional people: in any field, I think, attract: each other. And and people who aren't exceptional: repel each other:: And I think that that// I think this is// in one way or another an ordinary education// a a good AVerage run of the mill teacher who's got lot's going for her but who isn't that 3 percent:: who hasn't got that quality that's intrinsic, I guess is the the word. Its there. You know, you were born with it. Um you're// you// you've been given a gift. I FEEL its a gift. And I feel it is// its like the gift of// I don't want to get religious but ...

59. I. No. uh d// don't: try to not be something that you are because...

60. S. Ok.

6. I. I think we talked a LIttle bit about religion last time.

62. S. Well see I// I'm very much aware of: of: God's presence within me. I// I have been since I've been a kid. And I always knew that I had a special job to do. And the job that I have to do is TEach. And the teaching that I do in// all revolves around that: And I the// the// NEver think in terms of curriculum. I//I//I NEver even look at the curriculum: from year to the next. I never do. No matter what grade I have. The curriculum is: immaterial. It will get// I know that it: will get covered. Ok?

63. I. Uh huh.

64. S. The thing that// I STRIVE for is um: VALUES::: Because that is my:: that to me is my job. Is to: teach values. EVERything else is// Kid's learn from themselves. You don't have to teach them anything. But they Don't Learn Values: by themselves. That has to be// they have to be exposed to it over and over again in a thousand different situations. Right? So: when you're teaching values all the rest of that stuff takes care of // it// it// you teach them math. You teach them reading. You teach them: Science. You teach All of these things. But the basis for EVerything is: Values.

65. I. Could you say that: ahem: You uh// that the information that they could get through math and: social studies and and several other subject areas is within their grasp or within them already? And that values might be as well. But that you add focus? Or you add direction: as a teacher? (3)

66. S. I would say that um:: The chances // The chance of value being within them: is directly related to where they've come from: and and what they've been exposed to. Where as sometimes Knowledge they can pick up: um off t.v. They can pick up: coming down the street. They can pick up: brushing with people: uh in the// in the store. Knowledge is is all around them. But VALues: I don't think is. I think values are: are something that um really focused in on early. And children now a days don't seem to: have that special um:: They don't seem to have that coming from home. Almost 80% of them.

67. I. More so than before?

68. S. Oh ya. Ya. Very much so than before.

69. I. You notice that with// this is a grade two class?

70. S. Grade one.

71. I. Grade one. And you've noticed that? Even in grade one?

72. S. Oh. Oh. its so apparent and its so frightening. And it makes the job of teaching; So much more: strenuous. Because: people who don't know anything about: our work say "Well you have: more A.V. material. You have better: equipment. You have more time off. You have shorter hours. Da da da da da da." You know All these "You we got all these, you know, materials to work with. Teaching should be a snap:: The real thing that's being taught is less and less: to to// to draw from. Because at one time you could say to a class of twenty or thirty, or fourty kids: " I don't think that that is really the// the right thing to do." Today out of those fourty maybe thrity of them/ twenty five of them maybe will have had um: some// some push as far as right or wrong. Alot of them parents say "you make your own, dear. If you want to do it. You do it. If you don't want to do it. That's alright." And: it scares the HELL out of me: when I see a grade one child saying to me: "I won't do that because I don't want to do it." There's no// there's no: respect for for maybe a person who has: more knowledge. You know?

73. I. You?

74. S. Me. Or: ANYbody.

75. I. That (ahem) // I would have to assume that what you are saying is that parents have changed too? (4)

76. S. Ya. They've changed// They've changed um:: in so many ways. Not only in terms of Having more// there seems to be more material things around. Even in our// in our inner city schools really. They have more. When I had the inner city kids: the kids still came to school with zip lock bags, you know, for lunches. And uh fancy Wayne Gretzky un lunch boxes. And uh good clothes. And really: these kids were Not well off. So: even the poor are better off than the poor were say ten to fifteen years ago. But the SAd thing is say TWenty years ago poor people still had// And rich people alone// too// had good values. Their VAlues were better. And EVerybody came from the same: point of view almost. Like from your home and my home. All of: us basically: didn't want our

kids to lie, didn't want our kids to cheat. Do

you know what our kids are learning today?:: CHeat! And Lie, if you can get away with it. And that's// that is a TRuth.

77. I. Depending on the situation the situation defines whether you cheat or lie or Not lie?

78. S. That's right. Get on the bus and tell them you're five. Don't tell them you're seven. You'll have to pay for it.

79. I. Uh huh. Does that come from uh: trying to work with or against a system that's bigger than you? Otherwize it will get you? Like the bus system or...

80. S. Yes. I dunno know. I don't know what it comes from. I just know: that its there:: And it scares me: because: truth is truth: and right is right.

81. I. Can you// you give me an example of "truth is truth: and right is right" then? Obviously it would be in terms of values.

82. S. Right. Well: I mean it is Not right to Lie. And we we all do it. Cause we're human. But: to say to a child"Its ok if you lie". I (laughs) I can't see where I've taught them anything. I HAve to say to them: "It is not// it isn't a good thing to say something that isn't true". To call it a LIE, I guess, is so is// its kind of HArsh word for a a child// a baby// a five year old. He doesn't really know the difference between telling the truth and telling a lie: you know. So: you don't even term it as a lie: for a little one. But they do know: the difference between telling what is right// what is the truth and what is Not the truth. They they know that they've spilled the paint. And you say"Would the person who has spilled the paint come and help me clean it up (?)" They know that they've spilled the paint and that they have to: tell the truth about it. Um: ...

83. I. Are there subtle SHades: not just from black and white and so on. But I was thinking of when a child doesn't tell you everything?

84. S. Ya. Y// Ya. You don't ex// well we're looking at perfection then. And we're never going to achieve it. I mean we aren't so how can we expect children// Little children are basically very honest. They'll // And that's// what// they're basically very honest. They'll tell you the truth: if you give them// if you let them. Like I don't think a child ever starts out life: lying. I think that's something they have// they have been almost taught to do. And that's what scares me about parents, is because at one time that's what was important, that your child was uh// ...

85. I. Uh huh. They were rewarded in a sense for changing the truth or: not telling all the truth?

86. S. Yes. Uh huh. And materialistic, you know, values// materialistic: uh: gains are SO important. Like "What am I going to get out of this?": "What am I going to get for this?" Like the two boys coming in tonight helping me:: They walked out of here feeling really good about what they did. I know they did. And I said "I'm going to do something special for you someday." Probably that special thing I'll do is I'll invite them in to paint a picture for me.

87. I. How will you remember to do that?

88. S. I'll remember

89. I. How do you do that?

90. S. I don't know. I just will.

91. I. You don't have to write that down?

92. S. No.

93. I. It doesn't become an overload on your system to remember all these details of who to remember to be good to and so on?

94. S. No. No:: I suppose If I forgot they'd remind me.

95. I. Uh huh. So you feel fairly secure in that?

96. S. I// I was very// I won't say I haven't forgotten. I probably have. I can't remember ever forgetting: Probably: could have happened without me knowing it. I don't think so though so. I think if I ever did slip up they would remind me. You know "Hey: when are we going to get to come into your room?" Like they know: that any click click

APPENDIX 4: THESIS QUESTIONS 20/9/82

Study Questions

There are two purposes to this study, giving rise to four main research questions. The first purpose is to try to understand the expectations teachers hold for themselves as well as the expectations they perceive others holding of them. This purpose is reflected in the first two main research questions:

1. What expectations do teachers have of their role?
   a. How does role participation contribute to teachers' personal goals?
   b. What do teachers see as their role priorities?
   c. When do teachers' own expectations become contradictory, ambiguous, or overloading and thus a personal liability?

2. What do teachers perceive that others expect of the teacher role?
   a. What, in the view of teachers, do students expect of the teacher role?
   b. What, in the view of teachers, do non-students and others influence the teacher role?
   c. To teachers, how significant are the expectations of self, students, peers, parents, principals, superintendents, inservice educators, preservice educators, the law, etc.?
   d. Who and in what situations do teachers view as supporting their role as they prefer it to be?
   e. Who and in what situations do teachers view as interfering with their role as they prefer it to be?
   f. At what point do teachers find the expectations of others impinge on their own expectations (e.g. interpersonal or person-to-policy conflict)?

The second purpose of the study is to see how teachers order these expectations of their role into some acceptable whole to their personal and professional satisfaction. This purpose gives rise to the final two research questions. They are:

3. To what extent and in what situations are teachers willing to negotiate (respond to, react against, compromise with, or ignore) perceived expectations?

   a. What are teachers willing to accept as "occupational hazards" or as "coming with the job"?

b. How do teachers react when confronted with role responsibilities they are not willing to accept?

4. How does this balancing of expectations affect teachers and their role?

a. What are the limits of teachers' sensitivity towards the various expectations of their role?

b. Is it necessary for teachers to dichotomize their personal (private) lives and their professional (public) lives?

c. How is it possible for teachers to retain a sense of self integrity and a sense of self fulfillment considering the various expectations of their role?

5/1/83

After having held 3 interviews with Margaret (Pilot) I would like to gather together some specific questions to add direction and focus to this study. Included here are some such questions. They overlap in a rather tiresome manner. However, I think they are converging on points of importance. They follow this general outline:

I Margaret's Present Perspective

A. Margaret's Present Perspective related to Selected Response

B. Examples of Selective Response from the proposal literature review

C. Other questions

II The Process which Shaped Margaret's Perspective

A. Margaret's heightened awareness

B. Margaret's changing personal expectations

C. Margaret's awareness of others' expectations of her

D. Questions from the proposal literature review on role difficulties

E. Questions on peak experiences

I Margaret's Present Perspective (motives and aspirations, beliefs and expectations)

A. Margaret is at a present state where she chooses to be selectively responsive to certain expectations of her role as a teacher.

1. What is her present position (perspective) regarding the phenomenon?

2. What has she become?

3. Has she limited her sensitivity to aspects of her role?

4. Does she dichotomize her roles?

5. After balancing expectations does she feel entirely authentic?

6. Does she feel integrity of self or subdued, repressed, alienated, etc?

7. What are these rewards, benefits, or satisfactions that make the meeting of conflicts worthwhile?

8. What is it that leaves teaching role conflict less intensive than other roles?

9. Are there certain peak experiences once had and anticipated by Margaret?

10. How does Margaret deal with conflict?
Face on?
Under the rug?
Compromise? (merge)
How much compromise? With whom and under what circumstances?
Who or what will she not compromise with?

11. What will she do now? Won't? Can? Can't? Should? Shouldn't?

12. What is she continuing to do now what she has always done?

13. What is she doing now that she once was not?

14. What has she discontinued doing that she once did?

15. What does she view as occupational hazards? (necessary evil)

16. How does she see teaching contributing to the attainment of her personal goals? (motives and aspirations)

17. How has this been effected by her expectations?

B. Examples of Selective Response Stemming from the Literature Review Proposal

In dealing with situations which Margaret may see as being difficult or not she:

1. Has become sure of her teaching role.

2. Has become self confident.

3. Organizes and manages her time satisfactorily (does not waste time).

4. Protects her out-of-school time.

5. Controls student behavior well.

6. Organizes and handles clerical and non-teaching tasks well.

7. Maintains a sense of humour (protects her sanity by becoming less rigidly perfectionistic and more tolerant).

8. Maintains a breadth of leisure time activities which are not related to teaching.

9. Is willing and capable of being informal in her school work.

10. Plans well.

11. Is able to find support in the face of conflict (principal helps when parents attack).

12. Maintains a clear sense of purpose as a teacher (feeling that she is doing a worthwhile job and the principles she adheres to are likewise worthwhile).

13. Maintains a sense of pride in her knowledge and skills as a teacher.

14. Maintains a sense of pride in her status as a teacher.

15. Maintains a sense of humility in being a teacher.

16. Has decreased what she expects for herself over the years.

17. Has decreased what she expects of her students over the years.

18. Has decreased the amount of work she requires the students to do over the years.

19. Has decreased her own personal workload as a teacher over the years.

20. Has decreased her perceptual load over the years (decreased the number of requests she responds to, number of questions, etc.).

21. Has had to learn to feign mental states (because) of feeling "low" or that the material was tiresome she has to pretend enthusiasm so as to encourage students).

22. Has learned to distance herself from her students (to define her teacher role from the students' role, adult role from the childrens' role, etc.).

23. Has established a feeling of authenticity and integrity where she feels little or no dichotomy from her teacher-self and personal-self.

24. Has learned to merge her original idealism with realism?

25. Has become skilled at negotiating and compromising with others regarding teaching and subsequently the teacher role (diplomacy).

26. Has a clear pattern whereby she decides where her priorities lie (committees, teaching, Guides, etc.).

27. Has learned to say "no" as an important skill of selectivity.

28. Has become quite independent and rarely requests help (territory).

29. Feels confident that she knows where she can get help if and when she needs it.

30. Feels reasonably satisfied that she is being and becoming the type of person she wants.

31. Knows what she will accept as "necessary evils" of the job.

32. Has been influenced by her mother role (giving up things for her children and becoming aware of other parents' expectations).

33. Has become "tough-skinned" regarding certain recurring negative teaching experiences.

34. Has learned to glean the best from positive "peak" experiences teaching.

35. Has become skilled at seeing the point of view of several interactors and regularly converses in such a way (my point of view, yours, theirs).

36. No longer feels a sense of guilt about doing "more" activities with her students (no matter how much you do there's always something more possible).

37. Has become better at dealing with job-related feelings of anger, frustration, anxiety, even depression.

38. Is less likely now to say cynical, abrasive, negative things.

C. Following are some important questions that have recently emerged. They address selective response, I think, through satisfaction, confidence, support, criticism, and choosing between commitments (particularly saying "no").

1. Is Margaret satisfied with teaching as a job? As contributive to her life?

2. Is Margaret satisfied that she is teaching the way she should be? How does she experience this? Satisfied? Elated during peak times?

3. Who and under what circumstances does Margaret ask for help? Support? Will accept advise? Criticism? Judgement? Evaluation?

4. Who and under what circumstances does Margaret say "no" to direct or indirect requests for help, support, etc.?

II The Process of Shaping Margaret's Perspective

A. The building of Margaret's perspective as she recounts it. Over time her awareness has been heightened and focused on certain experiences. With her past perspective (motives and aspirations, beliefs and expectations) she viewed these experiences. Her perspective altered because of this heightened awareness or viewing. This section represents the "important" things which Margaret views through her present perspective which bring her to this point in time and, once again, this point of view.

1. What brings Margaret to this present perspective regarding the phenomenon?

2. What experiences has she had which produced this heightened awareness and thus reshaped her perspective?

3. What positive peak experiences does she identify with?

4. What negative experiences does she clearly remember and is still sensitive to?

5. What conflicts has she succeeded in dealing with thus leaving her with a position for the future?

6. In which way did Margaret's expectations change over time?

B. Margaret has held certain personal expectations for herself through teaching.

1. How did she originally see teaching contributing to the attainment of her personal goals? (motives and aspirations, expectations)
Do these aspirations have any order of priority?
Do these aspirations ever contradict or conflict with each other?

2. What were Margaret's original beliefs about the teacher role?

C. Margaret has become aware of expectations others have of her. Some of these may be true. Some may be figments of her imagination. Some of them represent involvement she has had with others recently. Some in the distant past. All of them she has shaped giving her information at hand into a personal sense of meaning.

1. Who or what conditions are most prevalent in Margaret's mind regarding these significant others' expectations (students, teachers, principals, superintendents, trustees, consultants, parents, the media, the public, interest groups, they, professors, parents, children, spouses ... the law, the curriculum, the way things are, tradition, authority, religion, joy...)? These are not always clear nor specifically emanating from one.

2. How did/do these influence Margaret? How significant were they? Supportive? Interfering? Impinging?

D. Questions stemming from the proposal literature review related to role difficulty.

Has Margaret experienced difficulty due to:

1. Lack of time?

2. Multiple roles (mother, manager, disciplinarian, clerk, artist, musician, committee member, friend, etc.)?

3. Teacher role vagueness (lack of definition of a good teacher)?

4. Being locked into teaching (unable to do other job(s)?

5. Being isolated from interacting with other adults?

6. Continuously dealing with problems of others (e.g. children, parents, principal etc.)?

7. Dominance of clerical tasks over real teaching?

8. Lack of job security?

9. Diminishing meaningful rewards?

10. Contradictory roles (humanitarian v.s. legalistic or v.s. managerial)?

11. Lack of autonomy to teach as she feels fit?

12. Dominating public ethos attitudes which are diverse and unclear?

13. Has found parents changing over the years.

14. Has found students to have changed over the years.

E. Question related to positive "peak" experiences.

When has Margaret experienced extreme and memorable satisfaction or elation through her teacher role?

III There is quite alot of literature on beginning teachers. There could be room here for comment.

WHAT EXPECTATIONS DOES SARAH HAVE OF HER ROLE? 3/3/83

1.a. How does role participation contribute to Sarah's personal goals?

- joyous experience of being with children and watching them learn
- long term friendships with students, teachers, parents, and others
- prestige as an "exceptional" teacher

1.b. What does Sarah see as her role priorities?

- childrens' welfare
- to challenge them, to get the most out of them
- to adhere to a general curriculum guide but primarily teach values, the important things
- emphasize children's work experience as an enjoyable activity ... extensive use of drama, art, learning centres
- to see that current interests are used to be assured that children get real meaning from classroom experience
- recruit parental support
- promote and share her teaching style with other teachers who are interested
- endeavouring to maintain good relations in the school ... as the staff and students are like a family to her

1.c. When do Sarah's own expectations become contradictory, ambiguous, or overloading and thus a personal liability?

- intensity to create new ideas for school experiences ... eg. caught up with changing the classroom ... difficult to escape this tendency during home time, shopping time, resting time

WHAT DOES SARAH PERCEIVE THAT OTHERS EXPECT OF THE TEACHER ROLE?

2.a. What does Sarah see students expecting of the teacher role?

- too much, spoiled, complacent, unchallenged
- expect teacher to entertain like television
- expect teacher to (make) help them learn by providing learning exercises
- trust teacher in direction of activity, that it is worthwhile

2.b. What does Sarah see non-students expecting of the teacher role?

- other teachers - to pull own weight, contribute
- to keep their distance

- principal - to be competent, to teach kids, to get them through
- parents - trust the teacher with childs' welfare
- often confused as to their own expectations
- consultants, other specialists and in-services - Sarah more of a consultant herself
- not use consultants
- superintendent, board, etc. - encourages her exceptionality personally
- minister, department, etc. - no comment
- the public - no comment
- university instructors and pre-service - foundations of theory, some have encouraged her on with high idealistic expectations
- childhood - clear expectations to hold to views regarding worth of cultural activities and a productive viewpoint (how to survive well)

2.c. How does Sarah see students and others influencing her role?
- students - deep and direct line of feedback
- tremendous excitement when students respond well
- frustration when children do not respond as hoped
- other teachers - vital in terms of collegial sharing and support regarding direct interaction by expecting Sarah to contribute as a team member and to handle her class
- principal - being quietly supportive
- by talking with Sarah
- parents - by distantly supporting, sharing an interest, notes
- by criticizing
- consultants et. al. - not greatly influential, although Sarah and colleagues are active giving in-services
- superintendent et. al. - by speaking to her of her exceptional teaching and offering advice regarding promotion of such teaching
- minister et. al. - no direct influence
- the public - no influence, not aware of particularly
- university instructors et. al. - having provided examples to encourage her toward the way she wished to teach
- having provided challenges to press her towards excellence
- own childhood - mother as an example of a cultured person and father as a positive survivor, brief but effective models

2.d. To Sarah, how significant are the expectations of self, students, peers, parents, principals, superintendents, in-service educators, pre-service educators, the law, etc.?

- self - vital although personal interests beyond the teaching act set aside
- students - vital
- other teachers - appreciates collegial interests and outward show of respect and caring, low significant
- principal - principal support vital, expectations need to be addressed, very significant
- parents - parents often confused, support vital
- fairly significant
- consultants et. al. - professional consultants unimportant, small group of exceptional teachers vital and in-services pre-dominate Sarah's thinking, significant
- superintendent et. al. - encouragement
- uplifting and respectful, fairly significant
- minister et. al. - unimportant, not significant
- the public - unimportant, not significant
- university instructors et. al. - direct expectations
- unimportant, standards vital, very significant
- own childhood - direct expectations, unimportant, standards vital, very significant

2.e. Who and in what situations does Sarah view as supporting her role as they prefer it to be?

- students - support by responding to her challenges
- other teachers - support by showing respect to Sarah as an exceptional teacher, sharing at a professional and personal level
- principal - support by letting her be
- parents - support by trusting her and leaving her alone
- concultants et. al. - support by having her involved as a clinician
- sending out materials
- superintendent et. al, - support by openly encouraging her and telling others of her
- sending out materials
- flexing curriculum expectations
- minister et. al. - no direct support although adding flexibility to curriculum interpretation important
- the public - no direct support
- university instructors et. al. as role models
- own childhood - as models
- conflicts magnify ideals regarding her reason for teaching

2.f. Who and in what situations does Sarah view as interfering with her role as they prefer it to be?

- self - own worst enemy in her pursuit of excellence, difficult to escape constant immersion
- students - have become spoiled, complacent, shorter attention span, won't respond unless Sarah uses gimmicks and vibrant style
- other teachers - interfere by stealing ideas, calling down students, not wanting to work together
- parents - interferes by complaining
- criticizing without understanding Sarah's program (curriculum and method of instruction)
- consultants et. al. - no interference
- minister et. al. - no interference although curriculum guide were rigid at one time
- the public, milieu, times - distinct change in time, confusion of morals, greater materialism, no necessity towards excellence

2.g. At what point does Sarah find the expectations of others impinge on her own expectations (e.g. interpersonal or person-to-policy conflict)?

- Generally Sarah finds, except for her students, that others should be distantly respectful. While she enjoys team teaching and collegial sharing of other sorts she does not want unlimited interaction, for the most part she enjoys her independence to "strive". Generally, she wishes to initiate interaction with other teachers, parents, etc.

Impingement strongest internally between desire to teach well and need to escape thoughts about teaching. The only serious impingement at this point is her own inability to break free of overwork

TO WHAT EXTENT AND IN WHAT SITUATIONS IS SARAH WILLING TO DEAL WITH (RESPOND TO, REACT AGAINST, COMPROMISE WITH, OR IGNORE) PERCEIVED EXPECTATIONS?

3.a. What is Sarah willing to accept as occupational hazards or as coming with the job?

- self - accepts that while she is no perfectionist she will always strive to be exceptional, her own worst enemy
- students - accepts that students have changed, (spoiled, lack values)
- other teachers - accepts that group decisions should be adhered to
- accepts that some teachers use others
- principal - accepts that the principal may need to pre-empt

- parents - accepts that she will always have to sell her program and recruit support for it
- some parents always critical
- consultants et. al. - no comment
- superintendent et. al. - accepts paycheque and local government right to establish policy
- minister et. al. - accepts legal curriculum guides as the right of the government to establish curriculum standards
- the public, milieu, time - accepts that times have changed although not necessarily for the better
- own childhood - accepts that she lost her parents early emphasizing importance of family and friends

3.b. How does Sarah react when confronted with role responsibilities she is not willing to accept?

- students - react to student needs by complying in the sense of entertaining and challenging
- not give up on failures
- other teachers - reacts to teacher territorial importance by recruiting in advance and talking face to face or looking for sympathy after the fact
- in past was more alienated from majority of teachers
- principal - in past was more alienated to principal
- parents - react to parent criticism by facing, talking, recruiting, notes, phone calls
- consultants et. al. - none
- superintendent et. al. - none
- minister et. al. although adapted curriculum rather liberally during times that it was
- the public, milieu, time - adapts to change in times, claims to be the type of teacher that suits the times
- own childhood - may have "over compensated" for having lost parents at an early age

HOW DOES THIS BALANCING OF EXPECTATIONS AFFECT TEACHERS AND THEIR ROLE?

- students have to do their part and strive, will not let them give up, but not continued worry
- "worry can be like a cancer, can't let it get to you" therefore suppress it (regarding students failing, parents criticizing, teachers imposing)
- rather than see constant pressures look to positive aspects of those pressures (enjoy the attention)
- can't be aware of everything ... not interested in finance or legalities particularly

4.b. Is it necessary for Sarah to dichotomize her personal (private) life and her professional (public) life?

- no need to dichotomize
- husband "placidly" supports and Sarah is encouraged to continue her work into the evening, domestic time, shopping time (buying extras).
- long term friendships with students, even into adulthood
- does need to be a little protective of home life to find time for family (children almost all grown up) and personal time ... yet this time is spent doing alot of community and church work ... continued gregariousness
- rigid structure regarding home time, flexible within rigid structure at school ... signs of greater protectionism during mothering

4.c. How is it possible for Sarah to retain a sense of self integrity and a sense of self fulfillment considering the various expectations of her role?

* Selective response and self integrity and self fulfillment

- few role expectations have gone against Sarah's views, although liberal views have been attacked
- being an exceptional teacher doing the right thing for students

*seeing others around her who are not so keen or caring gives her confidence and reinforcement of her right views

- proud of progressive style, being different, exceptional, skills in drama, art, interdisciplinary, rapport with students
- aware of weaknesses, accepts that she runs out of steam periodically, needs help in games adapting etc.
- willing to give and accept help from other teachers
- extremely gregarious, needs people, values friendship
- confidence due to positive reinforcement over the years from students, parents, etc.
- "placid" support at home
- extremely rigid time organization at home, carry over from mothering
- flexibility within rigid structure at school
- expects good return from her students from her hard work
- grown in realism regarding the system, parents, students, etc. ... but claims not less but greater caring
- clearer sense of what is rewardable in teaching
- clearer sense of what is unrewarding and not worth worrying about
- broadened view of conflicts in teaching
- refined view regarding what conflicts are worth involvement and to what extent

- more sure of position regarding conflicts, surety
- more forthright, forceful
- yet more tolerant and compliant
- internalizes more conflict
- clearer time organization, time and home
- maintain position regarding all thought and action having to be purposeful and productive
- necessity of being free of destructive thought (mope, critical of others, complains, worrying)
- happiness, laughter, friendships, gregarious, tough
- generally faces and/or suppresses conflict
- although need reinforcement from students and sometimes others (principal) is freer from one time dependency on this
- limited awareness of broader educational involvements at the macro level, closed to classroom and school
- sense that here and now is full enjoyment
- no sense of loss of caring, burnout
- does not believe in burnout, those who do so have failed to adapt, or achieve realistic expectations, ... expectations not possible in teaching

6/5/83

SELF KNOWLEDGE (Confirmation of generalizations) true?

MOTIVES

Are your reasons for teaching clearer than they were when you first started teaching?

RESPONSIBILITIES

Are you clearer on the things you are responsible for as a teacher compared with when you started?

REWARDS

Are you better at recognizing and gleaning the rewards possible in your teaching?

NON-REWARDS (CONFLICT IN ACHIEVING REWARDS)

Are you more discriminating about involvement with things which are not rewarding or even conflicting?
More broadly aware?
Balancing opposites?

MANAGING CONFLICTS

Are you better at dealing with problems in teaching?
Internalizing?
Foreceful?
Compliant?

CONFIDENCE

Are you more confident about your ability to deal with teaching problems? Teach well? Hold your job?

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESS

Are you more aware of your strengths and weaknesses?
Able to accept and disclose weakness more so?
Less frustrated about failures?
More willing to improve your teaching skills (and personal skills)?
More of a tendency to criticize yourself and to be more tolerant of others?

PRODUCTIVITY-ORIENTED

Are you more productive-oriented regarding yourself and others (not indulge in talking behind peopl's back, talking down people, etc.)?

INDEPENDENCE

Are you less dependent on the verbal support of others than you were when you started? To whom do you look for support (Sympathy? Appreciation)? Have you become selective about who you closely associate with over the years?

CARING

Do you feel as caring about others as you did when you started teaching?
Do you feel satisfied as a teacher?
Do you believe in burn-out and have you ever felt such a thing?

EXPLICIT RULES

Are you more aware of the line of authority in education?
Are you more aware of the legal rules?
Policy and procedure?

IMPLICIT RULES

Are you aware of important unwritten rules that exist in the teaching field regarding teacher territoriality and teacher tact?

HAVE TO'S AND DON'T HAVE TO'S

Are you more aware of the things which you as a teacher have to do and those things you don't have to do?
As a person?

OTHERS

How much attention do you feel you did/do pay to students?
Parents?
Other teachers?
The principal?
The vice principal?
The public?
The Superintendent and other school board officials?
Consultants? Minister and other department officials?
University instructors?
Own parents?
General school board?
Department rules and laws?

The Superintendent and other school board officials?
Consultants? Minister and other department officials?
University instructors?
Own parents?
General school board?
Department rules and laws?

RESEARCH USEFUL? (Disclosure? write-ups?...)

APPENDIX 5: SAMPLES OF INTERVIEW SYNOPSES

12/2/83

Synopsis of Third Interview with Safeb (excerpt p.p. 1-5)

1. Teaching Time is Help Time

   a. I take offense to Tony not helping his students when they are working on their individualized programs.

   b. "I find that if the kids are working, I'm usually there helping them. It's great to be organized but the teacher also has to serve the purpose of helping the kids that need help; even when they are working on individualized programs ... That's basically where I learn where the kids are at -- circulating around. Not sitting at my desk marking or planning my next day's work."

   c. "Joe doesn't know how to multiply three digit numbers." "Jack who I thought might have had a problem has this whole thing down pat."

   d. You can work at your desk when the kids are writing tests.

   e. Lesson plans for the next day are done out of class time.

2. Passing the Buck (the child)

   Tony seems to pass the buck. If he doesn't take a crack at helping the kid he's learning it all for the consultant, parents, etc.

3. Knowing when to call 'Help' for Help

   a. i. "But it might also be he (Don) has to refer them to others. And it depends on the situation. He might find he hasn't sent kids for referrals ... for 4 or 5 years now and then he has 20 ... There's the possibility of that happening."

ii. "If Johnny doesn't know how to read it is my responsibility as a teacher to do everything that I possibly can do to teach Johnny how to read. If I'm having problems then I see a consultant or a resource room teacher or other specialist of some sort to do some testing with Johnny and so on ... So I don't say 'Well, Johnny can't read so that's it. You go down to the office and see the resource room teacher and see if you can work out a timetable for yourself over there' I don't buy that. You try to set up a program... You see where he's reading. And you proceed from there. And it might be you can get him started and teach him to read without calling in a specialist ... But personally I take every child as an individual that has potential. And I try to develop that potential. And I never throw up my hands and say 'Oh well, that's just so and so. So who the hell cares?"'.

b. i. There are times after having pursued this procedure (recognize a child's problem, refer him to a specialist, and continue giving the child additional help) you can say "'I've done everything that I possibly could'. And you don't down grade yourself and feel slighted because you couldn't do it. Because there are situations where a teacher just doesn't have the time or maybe the expertise to be able to help that individual".

(Item #2)

ii. Part of the reason I feel I have done everything I can is because of my university training. There I feel I was given an indication of a fairly full range of possible student problems, diagnostic techniques, and methods to assist students experiencing problems.

- I feel satisfied I am expert enough to handle grade 6 students and the material they are responsible for.

- I try to read up on special problems in order to help a student.

iii. "It is one thing to diagnose (a problem) and try to make someone else responsible. But the child is in my classroom. And I'm there to teach that child. (While teaching can be taxing at the best of times) ... I feel it is my responsibility to find out as much as I can about that particular student."

- I feel that I am in partnership with parents and consultants, particularly when a child is experiencing some difficulty.

iv. I am definitely better now at handling these problems than I was years ago. And "experience breeds confidence"... And it's one thing to take courses or read books But It's another thing seeing the thing in operation. And as far as I am concerned there are many cases whereby you learn from practical experience. And the experiences that you have better qualify you to handle that special problem than actually spending a whole year and dealing from a textbook with some of these problems."

- I am better able to diagnose problems. I am better able and willing to see and say that I am able or not able to help him.

- You are looking at the complete individual. So there might be special areas where the child has to get special help. It might be reading. You might be able to handle most reading areas ... but not this one. Therefore you have to come to grips with your own skills and knowledge in order to know when to refer the child on.

(Item #6)

4. Overtime Kills

a. i. Don is too engrossed in his job.

ii. "There has to be a time and a place for the individual to leave his work behind and to take on the business of living his own life."

iii. "(When you eat, drink, and sleep teaching) it's eventually going to catch up with (you). I know from experience. You (eventually) have to realize there are other things to life than just teaching."

iv. "Don doesn't have a home life ... He talks school with his wife and kids. He doesn't have freetime for himself and his family. The guy is driving himself to an early grave if that keeps up."

(Item #50)

b. i. I was given the following advice by my first vice principal. I still abide by it: "There are things that you do at home and there are things that you do at school. And you make sure that you never short-change one or the other."

ii. "It's fine. You do alot of school work, organizing and so on. As long as you have a life of your own outside the school. Don't spend 24 hours thinking about your work. Otherwize you're not going to last long." This is true for any job."

c. "Yes, I've had some personal experience in this. The first year, not knowing the curriculum and requiring to teach a wide variety of subjects in junior high, I spent a great deal of time organizing. I wasn't getting much sleep and you could tell. I was being grouchy, miserable, the whole thing."

(Item #54)

d. i. Now, I tend not to take alot of school work home.

ii. "What I try to do at home is spend no more than an hour on my school work. And I try and give my family a fair shake in that regards."

iii. At times I have 10-15 minutes only, sometimes none. This often depends on whether I've had a chance to do some planning at school.

iv. "Normally I come in the morning just before classes (about fifteen minutes). That's the time we have to be in ... I work at noons occasionally (as well) ... I also spend alot of time after school. I'm usually here until 4:30. Kids dismiss at 3:30. So I do the work here much better than I can at home -- (where there are) other distractions.

v. "I usually work with kids until 4:00 and then I spend a half an hour organizing (or marking) myself for (the) next day."

vi. I do take marking home periodically. When the kids have gone to bed I spend 15 or 20 minutes marking.

(Item #56)

e. i. Being busy out of school is good.

ii. Leaving at 3:45 is fine. "I've known excellent teachers because they plan at home or they plan on the weekend." We all have other commitments. And we should have. It is their right and necessity.

f. "Many people would say (Don) is a really great teacher. Although (Tony) might have all the great characteristics (to be an equally good but different kind of school teacher)."

February 28th, 1983

28/2/83

Synopsis of the Fourth Interview with Safeb (excerpt p.p. 1-5) 28/2/83

1. Teacher Expectations of Students

a. "I spend a great deal of time, effort, and energy in making sure that kids really know their stuff. I try as much as I possibly can to prepare them for the grade 6 exams, for example, which are the city wide exams, and the provincial exams."

(Item #34)

b. i. Each year is an important year. I am always helping my students prepare for the next leg of their education. Grade six is a step toward junior high. Grade seven is a building block for grade eight. And each subsequent year a block for the next.

ii. Standardized tests influence the content and my teaching style greatly. I think this is fine because it gives direction and stimulus to me as the teacher and to the students as well.

c. i. "If I were teaching grade 5 I would be doing everything I possibly could to make sure the kids would learn as much as they can to be able to do well in grade 6 and so on."

ii. What children learn is largely a reflection on my teaching ability. Thus as they move on up the line I want them to show up well.

iii. Regardless of the grade level I would teach I would want the children to learn at least the things that would be required of them at the next level.

d. i. "Yes I am a perfectionist in many ways."

ii. "I get upset if a child slackens off or doesn't put forth a consistent effort ... Within one or two months 90% of them will know what my expectations are and they know they have to produce for this guy." (eg. Language arts unit on various people various occupations. I progress from spelling, punctuation, grammar, towards content. My final expectation is for them to master the writing of a short paper, not just pass over original mistakes ... but see them and correct them).

iii. "The first time the kids did this 3/4 of them flunked. Right now one or two are flunking". They are more careful and try harder.

iv. I'm a perfectionist in terms of expecting students to strive and produce work that they are capable of. Most kids are capable of doing the work I expect but few do because they are not expected to strive to their potential or, at least, to the standards I set for them.

(Item #36)

v. When I started teaching it's possible that I wasn't nearly so sure that students could reach standards of excellence or mastery.

vi. I have learned that this approach while painful for some students at first is ultimately a happier situation for us all.

vii. Over the years I have grown accustomed to students complaining that I am too tough. But I know if I hold them to task they can and will produce better work. I remind them that I told them in September what I expected and that I haven't changed. In a sense, it's them or me (a matter of not trying so hard or excelling).

viii. "I remember the first time I used this technique it did bother me (that I was too tough). But it certainly doesn't bother me now."

ix. At first it means being hard on some of them. Some of them have to face low marks or even failure. These students have to redo their work and show it to me. Sometimes it gets to be somewhat of a ping pong match.

e. I expect school-related behavior. I'm not worried about what other teachers think of my students in the library. But I feel my class must attend to their own work while they're in that room. This might involve discussion on topic.

f. i. "I want the kids to be able to be tolerant of other people and their beliefs. And I don't care which way it works, whether it's one group tolerant of another or one individual being tolerant of another individual." In this case a minority of one was trying to override the feelings of the other students regarding Christmas. I can't accept that. Usually I try to recognize and respect minority views because they seem naturally disadvantaged. But, as in this case, at times I have to protect the majority from the minority.

(Item #4)

g. i. I expect rewards in teaching. These largely come from children adhering to my expectation of them.

ii. I expect kids to strive, not fifty percent but as hard as they can. I saw a show about surgeons recently which confirmed this point in my mind. Life is not measured by bits of effort, it's all or none.

h. i. I feel I am realistic when it comes to expecting students to care. Some just don't. I give them my best but "you can only go so far with them. That's the way they are. They gotta live their own life. It's their problem. (This is particularly true) when I don't get any cooperation from the home. Those kids you really can't care about. Maybe you should, but you've done everything you can in the classroom situation and you've tried giving them special help and so on. And the student doesn't want that help then there's nothing more you can do. And you just have to resolve yourself, otherwise you'll have a nervous breakdown."

(Item #100)

2. Expecting Trust and Respect for Teacher-Judgement and Practical Knowledge

a. I am entrusted with the welfare of a group of children. I am responsible to see that they grow and develop. But at times this trust seems questionable. It seems that some people think that when teachers strongly hold a child to a task they are just trying to get even. But "what you are trying to do is make a point with that one particular child. It might not work with others." Whatever works for their long term benefit is foremost in my mind, even when it seems painful to the student and because of that, to me.

b. i. Some educators feel negative reinforcement is bad. But in this case it worked ... I would say I am prepared to use anything that works ... The parents knew what worked and they were relaying it on to me."

ii. I questioned the total reliance on positive reinforcement with children way back at university. As the years have passed I have seen time and time again occasions where theories taught during my teacher training were not absolute. Therefore, I am not afraid to oppose such theoretic notions.

iii. I feel negative reinforcement is appropriate at times. If you are trying to prevent people from doing something the best way to do that is to tell them the consequences of their actions. Here I don't just mean the logic of why it isn't nice etc. Rather, I mean what the law will do to them if they break the rules. Some people respond better to this.

iv. "That's what teaching's all about. It's common sense ... you don't get much in the way of results by yelling at kids or telling them their stupid. But there are times your professional knowledge tells you to use negative reinforcement because you've tried everything else and it hasn't worked ... So as a professional I want to try it in this situation and hopefully it will work. If it doesn't, well then you go with something else."

(Item #18)

v. My professional sense tells me to rarely use negative reinforcement for the group. This is because it is a technique meant to take things away from those deserving and know they are deserving of such action. More often than not, the rest of the students deserve much better treatment.

c. "A classroom is almost like a family situation where you are living with these individuals. And what one does shouldn't really effect another individual unless that other individual did something to cause the first one to react."

3. 'Circumventing' the Teacher and Territoriality

Sometimes it bothers me when another teacher unthinkingly takes over what I consider to be my territory.

February 11th, 1983

APPENDIX 6: SAMPLES OF TEACHER PROFILES 11/2/83

First Profile of Lux (excerpt p.p. 1-5)

Background

1. Lux was born in Saskatchewan near Moose Jaw. She has clear recollections of her girlhood life there. She was brought up in a staunch Presbyterian manner. She always considered teaching one of a selected few "high" callings. During this she did not aspire to teach however. It was years later, after her children were almost all grown up that she undertook the attainment of a teaching certificate at the University of Alberta. Lux has been teaching locally for close to twenty years.

Family

2. Lux enjoys a close association with all members of her family. Her husband who was a successful business man left that work and like Lux pursued an education degree himself. However, for various reasons, he was unsuccessful in attaining a position in the field of education. Thus he was forced back into business. More recently he has become partially disabled and unable to continue work. It seems that he is somewhat bitter toward educational institutions in general. Therefore it is likely that he and Lux find it necessary to eliminate much talk about such related topics.

Lux has seven children. One is given the impression that they keep in close touch with their parents.

4. At this point in time Lux is the main bread winner for the family. The money she earns goes toward family maintenance and savings, not so much holidays, expensive hobbies, etc. (If this is so it must alienate her somewhat from other teachers, the majority of whom use their teacher pay cheque as second family income.).

4. Lux's husband picks her up from work at 4:30 p.m. each day. This necessitates her holding to a rather tight schedule where she often works through lunch hour and gets the majority of her planning and marking done during the hour between dismissal and home time.

School Children

5. Lux is fond of her students. They seem akin to her, an extension of her family. It appears she does not dichotomize between student and child.

6. The love and affection that Lux holds for a shows to her school children is the starting point of their relationship.

Horizontal Thinking

7. Lux feels that all living beings are equal and promoting superiority of one over another can be destructive. This is particularly true when children sense they are being talked down to.

Learning Partners

8. If given the view that teacher and students are experiencing life together for the first time the experience in class calls for equal responsibility by each learning partner.

Humility, Meekness and Tolerance

9. Much of Lux's talk reflects an admiration for the qualities of humility, meekness and tolerance. Some examples follow:

a. She disapproves of elitism.

b. While she admires creativity she doesn't claim to be so greatly inclined.

c. While she admires the good management of time and curriculum material she does not claim to be as strong as she would like to be in this area.

d. She speaks of being a "plodder" and that she goes off on tangents.

e. She consistently looks for positive statements about others.

f. She rarely criticized others and when she does it is done in an extremely fair and diplomatic fashion. (She is hesitant to use terms which might be taken to be derogatory or to have a limiting effect on others eg. "dull, "average," "bad," "incompetant," etc.).

g. She is extremely tolerant of a variety of teaching styles.

Gratitude

10. One is given the impression that Lux sees herself as being fortunate to teach and be paid for it and that her own life situation she sees in a similar light.

Retrospection

11. Lux often looks well back to the primary of your childhood when reflecting on the reason for her view.

Self Criticism

12. Lux usually looks first to herself when there is a problem.

13. Lux is quick to handle most inner conflicts.

14. Lux recognizes that she has an interest and an ability to reflect on her previous activities. While this can give guidance to future projects she finds this form of critical thinking can turn on her. She does still tend to brood on "acts of commission or ommission." Thus she tries to remind herself that "tomorrow

will be a better day."

15. Putting herself in a position of self criticism leaves the door open for her to better understand and help others. If she was to first look at criticizing and blaming others this would be an impossibility.

16. There seems to be a disadvantage in this position however. Criticizing oneself first can give debator the upper hand.

Self Awareness

17. Self reflection can be useful to a teacher (as long as it has the goal of self improvement). Lux feels it is important for her to know and accept her strengths and weaknesses at this point in time.

18. It is a useful exercise for one to reflect on oneself in teaching. Thus seeing, not only one's strengths and weaknesses but in seeing that endemically teaching is full of ups and downs. This when accepted makes teaching no less rewarding in the case of the former and more tolerably in the case of the latter.

Intuitive Learning

19. Intuition is learning from within. It implies:

   a. Limiting the personal for experiencing the impersonal.
   b. Limiting the selfish for experiencing the unselfish.
   c. Limiting the ego-centric for experiencing the universal.

(see Boone)

Metaphysical Thinking

20. Lux feels there is too much emphasis by educators on technically oriented learning. Intelligence is evident in other fashions.

21. There is much to be learned from within.

22. Vocabulary is not the only way to see and feel intelligence, mind. Communication is possible from mind to mind. This is done on a spiritual plane and cannot be fairly measured by technical nor by immediately practical standards.

23. The surety of knowing for teachers is possible only in the convincibility of one's pursuit of intelligent good and that human conditions and practical situations unfold with time. The surety lies only with the former.

Curriculum

24. Lux complies with Provincial curriculum expectations. However, she sees it necessary to "add that touch of Spirit" without which the curriculum stands sterile.

25. Lux tends to integrate much of her curricular activities through language arts. This approach is currently being promoted by a teacher group called I.L.A.P. which Lux heartily endorses.

26. Lux while quick to face inner conflicts tends to comply with group wishes even when she doesn't agree with them (outer conflicts). She sees herself as a team member and the group intentions more important than her own (not to be confused with her personal ideals which she strongly adheres to). Therefore Lux with her interest in supporting group wishes has become masterful at adapting her teaching activities to fit accordingly.

27. Lux enjoys teaching for the moment. In other words when she senses her students might be keenly interested in a topic she will move toward that. This would mean making her past plans more flexible or dropping them altogether.

March 3rd, 1983

3/3/83

Second Profile of Lux (excerpt p.p. 1-4)

THE PERSON

1. Lux is extremely interested in getting to know others. This is because she sees interaction with others as potentially rewarding, where a stimulating discussion might take place.

2. Lux sees life as an adventure in thought. She loves to explore ideas.

3. Lux is not very materially minded. Rather, she is extremely metaphysical in her orientation. She sees ideas providing her with a sense of deep satisfaction.

4. Lux seems ever willing to learn from other people and new situations.

5. Lux sees this learning process as a life long process, one which teaching can encourage if the teacher has the right view.

6. Lux is reflective and somewhat self-critical. She also appears to be a rather sincere and humble person.

THE TEACHER

7. Lux is a growing teacher. She seems satisfied that she does good work with her students but that she has much to learn.

THE STUDENTS

8. Lux feels she could have been teaching any grade level. She enjoys her students in grade one. Regardless of the age, she emphasizes, a teacher cannot talk down to young people.

9. Lux views her students horizontally rather than from vertical heirarchial perspective. This allows her also to see her role as an equal experience with students and where students are also to be held responsible for learning.

THE CURRICULUM

10. Lux is extremely compliant about curriculum expectations. She tends to adhere to these guidelines fairly closely. Yet she sees it as a necessity to adapt these to the needs of her class.

11. Lux is interested in integrating topics which promote the whole child. Recent trends to increase phys. ed., art, music, etc. She sees as improvements to the Division I curriculum.

12. The I.L.A.P. (integration through language arts) movement is something Lux feels closely affiliated with.

13. Lux highly approves of The Waldorf program which promotes the wholistic development of the child at a personalized level. She does not see her own school moving in this direction any great extent and (given that she was younger, transportation was not a problem) she might vie for total involvement in this type of program.

14. Lux tends to follow her own plans fairly closely from day today. Periodically, if something comes up that all her students have experienced she may pursue it.

15. Lux tries to keep abreast of recent thinking in education. She reads quite abit and participates as much as she can in in-service sessions.

TIME CONSTRAINTS

16. Lux is held somewhat rigidly to a timeline which encourages her to do the majority of her school work at school. Her work day at school starts at approximately 7:30 a.m. and ends at 4:30 p.m.

17. This timeline means that Lux cannot always particpate in staffroom gatherings and all the in-service sessions she would like.

NEW IDEAS

18. Lux is quite receptive to curriculum ideas that are sent out in the form of guides, journals, workbooks, readers, texts, memos, etc.

19. Lux is only pressured regarding new ideas which might involve her class when they are super imposed (eg. as in Colour Day at a school level). Even here though, Lux is willing to comply as such things don't happen that often and also they can be used in a complimentary fashion to the regular lesson.

AUTHENTIC, SINCERE, CARING

20. Lux has rarely experienced external conflict (conflict of interests between herself and others). Her mild approachable manner seems to placate trouble before it grows. And it would seem that Lux is seen by others as sincere and totally trustworthy. She seems to give the impression to others that she is selfless and giving therefore unquestionably an ideal teacher.

MODELS AND TIES

21. Lux adheres to models of good teaching. But these models have largely been provided by others in the past. Lux sees the strength of these teachers as having the quality of authenticity.

22. Lux has no close social or idealitic ties with teachers at her school. Yet she does not feel alienated.

COMPARTMENTALIZING

23. While Lux does not seem to experience any amount of external conflict she does have to deal with some internal conflict. This she sees as learning to discipline herself to

eliminate school thoughts, particularly those regarding brooding over mistakes that may have been made during the day. However, generally Lux can suppress or rationalize these feelings when and if they arise.

TIME MANAGEMENT

24. Lux claims to have difficulty in time management. This she says is because she loves to get involved in a train of thought with her students. But following this can make her forget time, a problem in a school where there are bells, specialists, etc.

TEACHING REWARDS

25. Lux sees teaching as rewarding because learning can be a stimulating process both as her own experience and in observing the students' experiencing. As well, Lux sees students' responding to her own efforts as rewarding in addition.

26. Lux is pleased and grateful for the financial remuneration offered her for her efforts.

ASPIRATION

27. Lux aspires to continue on as a classroom teacher. Given that circumstances were different she might well aspire to teach in a Waldorf school or perhaps specialize in a subject area. But such things, she points out, are not possible. She seems pleased overall to be in the situation she is in.

APPENDIX 7: SAMPLE OF TEACHER CASE REPORTS

15/4/83

Hi Margaret!

Enclosed please find Margaret. This is a loose unedited comilation of our talks. I have done my best to make connections but am hesitant about cutting out much to date. Now, regarding the editing, that is to be done between you and I. I must get agreement from you regarding this paper (which will ultimately be a major chapter in the thesis, a case study to be exact). I then go on to further analysis.

But before I can continue on may I ask you to do the following?

1. Read through this document carefully.
2. Look for statements which you feel are particularly relevant. In the margin mark these with an 'A' and add anything to the text that you wish.
3. Look for statements which you feel are particularly irrelevant. In the margin mark these with a 'C' and add anything to the text that you wish.
4. For statements which you see being in that hazy gray area which you would still like to evaluate please mark 'B'.

Therefore, we're looking at a bit of a Likert scale here, as follows:

A	B	C
extremely relevant	moderately relevant	totally irrelevant

Remember, relevancy is measured only in accordance to your view regarding how you meet various expectations.

5. Finally, I'd appreciate it if you would jot down your thoughts about the following because our next meeting (our last major meeting) will not likely allow us time to address each verbally.

a. New journal items.

b. Confirmation or denial of any items from the last interview and profile.

c. A comment on the worth of such a research format to you and perhaps to other teachers.

d. Anything else that might be important to tell your story.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely

Neil W. Garvie

NWG/cvg

enclosure

MARGARET

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Conclusion

(exerpt from Margaret p.p. 16-22)

> number of years. You can refine it and change it.

Margaret sees little advantage in collecting extreme amounts of curriculum materials. She stores only those things which she sees as being used for sure. Having too much material leads to disorganization and mismanagement. In such cases material is lost.

> I have four boxes of charts, cards, worksheets. These are the basis of my teaching. Most teachers have more. I find to have more is wasteful because much of it becomes lost or forgotten.

Management of the Classroom

Margaret has found that time put into the maintenance of the classroom facility itself is important for maximal learning.

> I like things tidy. A messy and very untidy room with things strewn all over the place can't be a very easy place for children to work in.

Time with students

In the long run what decreases the chances of a maximal learning situation will cause Margaret anguish further down the line. In this she sees that sometimes the shortest distance between two points is not always a straight line. Thus she sees the time she is at school as a fairly intense time where her prime responsibility is to interact with students. Procrastination or laziness in this area have a habit of coming back on a busy teacher.

> A good teacher uses her time to work with kids or help them. She should circulate around the room to see if the work is properly done and to see if she can help. She should endeavour

> to give weaker and better students additional help.

It is important that students are not cut off from the teacher.

> Let children know she is available during individual work periods. The children should feel free to come for help especially if it is not a split grade where the teachers time is tied up more.

It is unfair to plan during class time. It would cut her off from her students.

> I wouldn't just sit there at my desk planning. That would cut me off from the children. They would get the impression that they can't bother me because I'm too busy.

It would also eliminate the opportunity to work with those who require additional attention.

> I could sit there planning tomorrows lesson while the children work. But that presupposes that all children are capable of doing the same work.

Referring Students

But there are times that the teacher has to recognize she can't help a child and/or the child is deterring the rest of the class from progressing. In such a case she would refer the child for additional help if it is available or have the child removed to another situation. Therefore it is important for her to recognize which child she can help through referral for help and what the conditions are currently with resource people.

> The teacher is ultimately responsible for the child. Consultants and other resource people are often too busy to be effective on the child. I would refer children who can't cope in a

> regular classroom. They should be put into an appropriate situation. In our system unless they are of very low ability or two to three years behind in school work it's not likely you're going to get him moved from your class. Mostly referrals should be made on behalf of children in the grey area.
>
> They are not handicapped or mentally retarded. But they are definitely below average.
>
> A child who seems of average ability but is having a great deal of difficulty with learning, to read, for example, rather than a child who is fairly dull because there is probably not a great deal you can do for a child like that except plod along and get as much help as possible. I use parent aides quite alot in cases like that.

And it is important for Margaret to recognize those children who are beyond help in a regular classroom. Behavioral problems for example.

> Children who are screaming, yelling, throwing fits, and refusing to cooperate need help. Their problems probably start at home and make teaching very difficult. I think these types of children should be excluded from the classroom for a time. Maybe it would make the parents realize that they themselves have to do something as well.

Expectations of Students

Early in her career Margaret held students rather precisely to homework assignments, returning forms and money from home, etc. However, she began to see this as an unfruitful position. This was one area where rigidity was not the best way. Thus she adjusted her expectations toward a more tolerant stand. She no longer holds students to deadlines as she had once done. Now she experiences less frustration than she had and claims her students are working just as well if not better than before.

> I have found over the years as a mother and as a teacher that we, as teachers, can cause children some anxiety by insisting on our activities being the only priority in their lives. I have nagged the kids to bring forms, bring money, do all their work or they'll be kept after school. This has caused me much anguish and frustration as well. Therefore I have found it better to be less rigid and more tolerant. I do not expect all children to bring all forms or all money on time. Neither do I expect all students to complete the same amount of work done by a certain time. I do not believe in laxity. But I think I've found a happy medium between that and this previous rigidness. I still think I get good results from my students. Those struggling are easy to pick out and spend more time with me. Others are more independent and can work on their own.

This is particularly true as a holiday approaches.

> You can't let the pace get to you. It's a heart attack situation when you try to get the students to work, work, work, I tend to relax the pace quite abit and do art nearly every day and have more story time and less formal work time.

Association with Students

During the day Margaret works with her students. That is her job. And she does not encourage home visits. Nor does she encourage long term associations with them. Rather, her long term association is not with these people as such but with the grade one group she is serving at each present time.

Leaving Work at Work

Margaret sees the necessity in limiting the connection between school and home. Don't inflict every little detail of the school day on one's spouse. That's hard on a marriage.